

BUILDING NEW INDIA

SELECTIONS
FROM

M. K. Gandhi

Rabindranath Tagore


Jawaharlal Nehru

S. Radhakrishnan

Vinoba Bhave

An Indian National Congress
Publication

Martin Cramer
New Delhi
October, 1957



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2018 with funding from
Public.Resource.Org

**BUILDING
NEW INDIA**

BUILDING NEW INDIA

*SELECTIONS
FROM*

M. K. GANDHI

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

S. RADHAKRISHNAN

VINOBA BHAVE

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

7, JANTAR MANTAR ROAD,
NEW DELHI

Published for All India Congress Committee

by N. Balakrishnan

7, Jantar Mantar Road, New Delhi-1

Printed at the National Printing Works,

10, Daryaganj, Delhi

Rupee : ONE

JULY, 1954

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Grateful acknowledgments are made to the following publishers for permission to reprint excerpts from the books mentioned :

NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE, Ahmedabad—

*Harijan ; Young India ; Autobiography ; Yeravda Mandir ;
Gandhi & Marx ; Self-Restraint vs. Self-Indulgence ;
Bhoodan Yajna.*

THE TRUSTEES OF RABINDRANATH TAGORE and
MACMILLAN & Co., LTD., St. Martin's Street,
London—

*Selections from Tagore ; Creative Unity ; Lectures and
Addresses.*

SIGNET PRESS, Elgin Road, Calcutta—

The Discovery of India.

ALL INDIA RADIO, New Delhi—

Talks of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru.

CONTENTS

PAGE

PREFACE ix

INTRODUCTION xi

M.K. GANDHI

1. MEANS AND ENDS 1
2. NON-VIOLENCE OF THE BRAVE 2
3. THE SPIRIT OF NEIGHBOURLINESS 4
4. BREAD LABOUR 5
5. THE DUTIES OF STUDENTS 6
6. COMMUNISM 9
7. SARVODAYA 10
8. SELF RESTRAINT ESSENTIAL FOR STRENGTH 11
9. TASK BEFORE THE STUDENTS 14
10. INDIA OF MY DREAMS 16

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

1. AN EASTERN UNIVERSITY 18
2. THE RELIGION OF THE FOREST 23
3. CIVILIZATION AND PROGRESS 27

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

1. THE FUTURE BECKONS TO US 31
2. THE STRENGTH AND THE WEAKNESS OF INDIA 35
3. A STRONG DEMOCRATIC INDIA—OUR NATIONAL OBJECTIVE 40
4. NEED OF A SCIENTIFIC TEMPER 46
5. THE FIVE YEAR PLAN—EMBODIMENT OF A NEW SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY 50
6. POLITICAL DEMOCRACY SHOULD LEAD TO ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY 53
7. HARD WORK—ONLY KEY TO PROSPERITY 58
8. THE RESPONSIBILITY OF YOUTH IN NEW INDIA 62

S. RADHAKRISHNAN

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|----|
| 1. DEMOCRACY AND INDIA | 68 |
| 2. NEED TO DEVELOP GREAT QUALITIES .. | 73 |

VINOBA BHAVE

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|----|
| 1. SWARAJ MEANS RESPONSIBILITY .. | 80 |
| 2. TWO ROADS TO CHOOSE FROM .. | 83 |
| 3. COMMUNISM IN INDIA .. | 88 |
| 4. SARVODAYA—A REVOLUTIONARY IDEA .. | 89 |
| 5. SAMYA-YOGA | 91 |
| 6. BHOODAN YAJNA | 93 |

BY WAY OF PREFACE

After the attainment of political freedom, the main task before the country is the achievement of social and economic freedom for the masses. This socio-economic revolution in India has to be brought about through peaceful and democratic means and not through blood and violence. In the domain of foreign policy, India is determined to steer clear of both the Power Blocs and to pursue a policy of dynamic, constructive and collective peace. In the sphere of economic reconstruction also, we have to carefully avoid both the extremes of capitalist and highly centralised democracy and regimented and dehumanised totalitarianism. Mahatma Gandhi had shown us the middle way of decentralised democracy and village community life based on maximum self-sufficiency in the economic sphere. We must follow this middle path with courage, conviction and vision.

It is in the building of such a New India that the young men of our country have to play an important and vital role. Instead of indulging in cheap sensationalism and acts of indiscipline, they have to concentrate on nation-building activities and prepare themselves for responsible tasks ahead. In place of narrow party politics, they have to pursue intelligently, what may be termed as "constructive politics." I have had the privilege of visiting a number of countries both in the East and in the West and of coming in close contact with the students of those countries. I can say without hesitation that the Indian student is not inferior to the student of any other country in the world. We are, therefore, rightly proud of our young men and entertain

high hopes from them in shaping the future of Free India. India is surely a land of destiny with a definite message for the new world order and our young men are destined to play a noble and heroic part in this great task.

Shri Hiralal Bose, Youth Organiser of the A.-I.C.C., has taken great pains to collect extracts from the writings of our great leaders for the guidance of our young men. We are confident that this collection would prove to be of considerable help to them in equipping their minds and hearts for building up New India.

S. N. AGARWAL

*New Delhi,
July, 1954.*

INTRODUCTION

“Destiny beckons to us all.” How are we going to answer this call? How are we, the citizens of resurgent India, going to use our newly-gained opportunities? In what manner do India’s youth, in particular, intend to accept the challenge before them—a challenge to build up this ancient country in a new way and to lead her people to prosperity and happiness? Obviously, such calls and challenges can be answered only by high courage and determination and ceaseless effort; effort of the mind and of the body, by imaginative planning and hard work, and above all by lifting our spirit.

What is the situation today? After centuries of slumber and inactivity, India has again stood forth, awake and vital. Vast opportunities lie before her people. Great efforts have been undertaken to enable them to take advantage of these opportunities, and many parts of India hum with new activity. There is promise everywhere, and in some spheres of work the progress has been very remarkable indeed. One of the greatest experiments in history is going on in India: democratic government of a country of the size and population of India and the development of her resources with the willing co-operation of her people. And we can take a real pride, as we must, in the achievement of our country.

But there is no room for complacency or rest. Eternal vigilance must be the watchword. What do we find if we try to assess ourselves? We are doing good but not enough. The advancement of science and technology has given great power into the hands of men

to develop the natural resources of the earth. It has also unleashed other mighty forces which have been changing the course of human thought and history. Freedom has given us opportunities to take advantage of these gifts and facilities. But, unfortunately, we are not being able to do this fully. Long years ago various evil elements crept into India's body, which sapped her strength and vitality, leading to the loss of her freedom. Their dark legacy continues to handicap us. Indiscipline, disunity, narrow-mindedness and lethargy are still widespread. Specialized technical ability and a proper mental outlook are necessary to develop a country. We lost our old capacities long ago and have not had opportunities to learn the new techniques until a few years ago. All this handicaps a worker and naturally his progress is not as it should be. We must remedy this quickly.

No great work can develop without clarity of thought. But there is a lot of confused thinking in our country today. Too many theories and 'isms' are talked of and they are claimed as the panacea of India's ills. This is often done without the least consideration for the present conditions in India. And many, especially the youth, get confused by them and are sometimes misled by the wrong slogan. Let us be clear about our objective. We want a "strong democratic India." We have given ourselves a Constitution, a historic document, which is based on democratic principles. There are the Fundamental Rights and equal opportunity for all, and no distinction between man and man on any consideration whatever. Everybody has a right to form groups or parties and to propagate any principles he wishes. But there is one big condition. Methods to achieve an objective must be moral and peaceful. No violence can be permitted. It is for the people to choose what they want to have; they must not be coerced into submission. And it has to be specially appreciated that progress in the development of industries

and in other spheres by democratic methods, may be slower than what might be obtained by other methods, but that in the long run it is more stable and beneficial.

In the past years, we have, however, seen in India enough violence and practice of utterly wrong and vulgar methods in "seeking redress of grievances, in getting demands conceded" and in the "defence of culture and religion" and many other "rights." In the name of progress wholly unprogressive paths are followed. Many of these parochial and reactionary ideas also are evil legacies of the past. They lay hidden during the freedom movement which overshadowed every consideration other than the independence of India. Now the country is stabilised and they are raising their ugly heads again. Many people are misled by these formulae, which often are attractive in the face but have hidden evil potentialities. Naturally, if a person does not have adequate opportunity to understand things in a true manner, in their proper perspective, and to know the real needs of India today and what he can do to fulfil them, then obviously he cannot make an effective contribution.

It is of supreme importance, therefore, that people should fully realise their responsibilities in building up the country, in making this great democratic experiment a success. It is necessary to understand that only good methods can yield good results; that wrong means must lead to wrong ends; that violence can settle no problems; that morality, persuasion and consideration for others are the important bases of democracy; that any differentiation between man and man on the basis of religion or caste or language or any other similar consideration is wholly wrong and against the democratic concept; that we must discard any bad thing that we have inherited from the past without hesitation; that only planned hard work on the part of all can develop the resources of India and remove the poverty of her people; that discipline, high

character and a spirit of service are essential qualities to face the great tasks ahead.

Adequate mental and physical training are essential for a person to be able to perform his duties in life well. In India, in addition to such training, the people need to be specially stirred up to action. It is perhaps more important for them to understand what is right and what is wrong for India today and to do everything possible to strengthen the forces of good. Of course, there are the eternal, basic ideals and principles of life. Constantly one has to remind oneself about them and endeavour to practise them. Needless to say, the experience and judgment of great men, of thought and of action, are of supreme help in this task. People, and especially youth, must take guidance and inspiration from them. In the hope that it would be of some help in such efforts, this brochure has been prepared. It contains excerpts from the speeches and writings of Mahatma Gandhi, Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan and Acharya Vinoba Bhave. It is not an easy task to select from their extensive writings, and no claim is made that these excerpts are fully representative. The main thought in selecting them has been to enable people, and especially youth, to profit from their views on the basic approach to life and on India's needs today and the responsibilities of her inhabitants in fulfilling them.

HIRALAL BOSE

*New Delhi,
July, 1954.*

M.K. GANDHI

1. MEANS AND ENDS

They say 'means are after all means'. I would say 'means are after all everything'. As the means so the end. Violent means will give violent *swaraj*. That would be a menace to the world and to India herself. France obtained her freedom by violent means. She is still paying dearly for her violence. There is no wall of separation between means and end. Indeed, the creator has given us control (and that too very limited) over means, none over the end. Realisation of the goal is in exact proportion to that of the means. This is a proposition that admits of no exception.

Young India, 17-7-24

We may be fit to attain the end or we may not be. This is always hidden from our eyes. But over the Means we have full control; we are all fit for them and it is comparatively easy to achieve success in respect of them. Again we approach the end exactly to the extent that we make Means our own. Means we can recognize because seers have pointed them out, while they have declared the end to be difficult to understand. The chief Means is Truth and I am sure you are good at it. You do not deceive any one, you do not like to deceive even yourself; therefore you are discontented and distressed to find that you cannot at once become such as you would like to become. But to some extent we must be patient even with ourselves. We should calmly begin to work at whatever we propose to do, try to achieve success in it and then cultivate an indifference as regards the consequences.

There may be a tide and then an ebb in the ocean that is your mind; you must either be above these variations, or else be calm like the ocean in spite of its tides. Ideas of all kinds crowd into our minds, but he who maintains his equanimity in face of them is on the high road to success.

Harijan, 2-9-50

2. NON-VIOLENCE OF THE BRAVE

Literally speaking, *ahimsa* means 'non-killing'. But to me it has a world of meaning, and takes me into the realms much higher, infinitely higher. It really means that you may not offend anybody; you may not harbour an uncharitable thought, even in connection with one who may consider himself to be your enemy. To one who follows this doctrine there is no room for an enemy. But there may be people who consider themselves to be his enemies. So it is held that we may not harbour an evil thought even in connection with such persons. If we return blow for blow we depart from the doctrine of *ahimsa*. But I go further. If we resent a friend's action, or the so-called enemy's action, we fall short of this doctrine. But when I say that we should not resent, I do not say that we should acquiesce: by the word 'resenting' I mean wishing that some harm should be done to the enemy; or that he should be put out of the way, not even by any action of ours; but by the action of somebody else, or, say, by divine agency. If we harbour even this thought we depart from this doctrine of non-violence.

This does not mean that we practise that doctrine in its entirety. Far from it. It is an ideal which we have to reach, and it is an ideal to be reached even at this very moment, if we are capable of doing so. But

it is not a proposition in geometry; it is not even like solving difficult problems in higher mathematics—it is infinitely more difficult. Many of us have burnt the midnight oil in solving those problems. But if you want to follow out this doctrine you will have to do much more than burn the mid-night oil. You will have to pass many a sleepless night, and go through many a mental torture, before you can even be within measurable distance of this goal. It is the goal, and nothing less than that, which you and I have to reach.

Address at Madras, 16-2-16

Non-violence is an active force of the highest order. It is soul force or the power of Godhead within us. Imperfect man cannot grasp the whole of that essence—he would not be able to bear its full blaze, but even an infinitesimal fraction of it, when it becomes active within us, can work wonders. The sun in the heavens fills the whole universe with its life-giving warmth. But if one went too near it, it would consume him to ashes. Even so it is with Godhead. We become Godlike to the extent we realize non-violence; but we can never become wholly God. Non-violence is like radium in its action. An infinitesimal quantity of it embedded in a malignant growth acts continuously, silently and ceaselessly till it has transformed the whole mass of the diseased tissue into a healthy one. Similarly, even a little of true non-violence acts in a silent, subtle, unseen way and leavens the whole society.

Harijan, 12-11-38

My non-violence does not admit of running away from danger and leaving dear ones unprotected. Between violence and cowardly flight, I can only prefer violence to cowardice. I can no more preach non-violence to a coward than I can tempt a blind man to enjoy healthy scenes. Non-violence is the summit of bravery. And in my own experience, I have had no difficulty in demons-

trating to men trained in the school of violence the superiority of non-violence.

Young India, 29-5-24

3. THE SPIRIT OF NEIGHBOURLINESS

I must not serve my distant neighbour at the expense of the nearest. It is never vindictive or punitive. It is in no sense narrow, for I buy from every part of the world what is needed for my growth. I refuse to buy from anybody anything however nice or beautiful, if it interferes with my growth or injures those whom Nature has made my first care. I buy useful healthy literature from every part of the world. I buy surgical instruments from England, pins and pencils from Australia and watches from Switzerland. But I will not buy an inch of the finest cotton fabric from England or Japan or any other part of the world because it has injured and increasingly injures the millions of the inhabitants of India. I hold it to be sinful for me to refuse to buy the cloth spun and woven by the needy millions of India's paupers and to buy foreign cloth although it may be superior in quality to the Indian hand-spun. My swadeshi, therefore, chiefly centres round the hand-spun khaddar and extends to everything that can be and is produced in India.

Young India, 12-3-25

In your village you are bound to support your village barber to the exclusion of the finished barber who may come to you from Madras. If you find it necessary that your village barber should reach the attainments of the barber from Madras you may train him to that. Send him to Madras by all means, if you wish, in order that he may learn his calling. Until you do that you are not justified in going to another barber. That is *swadeshi*.

So when we find that there are many things that we cannot get in India we must try to do without them. We may have to do without many things; but, believe me, when you have that frame of mind you will find a great burden taken off your shoulders, even as the Pilgrim did in that inimitable book, *Pilgrim's Progress*. There came a time when the mighty burden that the Pilgrim was carrying unconsciously dropped from him, and he felt a freer man than he was when he started on the journey. So will you feel freer men than you are now, if immediately you adopt this *swadeshi* life.

Address at Madras, 16-2-16

4. BREAD LABOUR

How can a man, who does not do body labour, have the right to eat? 'In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat thy bread', says the Bible. A millionaire cannot carry on for long, and will soon get tired of his life, if he rolls in his bed all day long, and is even helped to his food. He, therefore, induces hunger by exercise, and helps himself to the food he eats. If everyone, whether rich or poor, has thus to take exercise in some shape or form, why should it not assume the form of productive, *i.e.* Bread Labour? No one asks the cultivator to take breathing exercise or to work his muscles. And more than nine tenth of humanity lives by tilling the soil. How much happier, healthier and more peaceful would the world become, if the remaining tenth followed the example of the overwhelming majority, at least to the extent of labouring enough for their food! And many hardships, connected with agriculture, would be easily redressed, if such people took a hand in it. Again invidious distinctions of rank would be abolished, when every one without exception acknowledged the obligation of Bread Labour. It is com-

mon to all the *varnas*. There is a world-wide conflict between capital and labour, and the poor envy the rich. If all worked for their bread, distinctions of rank would be obliterated; the rich would still be there, but they would deem themselves only trustees of their property, and would use it mainly in the public interest.

All natural and necessary work is easy. Only it requires constant practice to become perfect, and it needs plodding. Ability to plod is Swaraj. It is *yoga*. Nor need the reader be frightened of the monotony. Monotony is the law of nature. Look at the monotonous manner in which the sun rises. And imagine the catastrophe that would befall the universe, if the sun became capricious and went in for a variety of pastime. But there is a monotony that sustains and a monotony that kills. The monotony of necessary occupations is exhilarating and life giving. An artist never tires of his art. A spinner who has mastered the art, will certainly be able to do sustained work without fatigue.

Yeravda Mandir

5. THE DUTIES OF STUDENTS

Students can, by learning the art of voluntary discipline, fit themselves for leadership in the various branches of the nation's work. A student is like a soldier who may not argue about matters of discipline when he has put himself and chooses to remain under it. A soldier may not remain a unit in his regiment and have the option of doing or not doing things he is asked to do. Similarly, a student, no matter how wise or old he is, surrenders when he joins a school or college the right of rejecting its discipline. Here, there is no under-rating or despising the intelligence of the student. It is an aid to his intelligence for him to come voluntarily

under discipline.

I think I have written often enough against strikes by students and pupils, except on rarest of occasions. It is quite wrong on the part of students and pupils to take part in political demonstrations and party politics. Such ferment interferes with serious study and unfits students for solid work as future citizens. Students may hear all parties, as they read all sorts of books, but their business is to assimilate the truth of all and reject the balance. This is the only worthy attitude that they can take. Immediately they dabble in power politics they cease to be students and will, therefore, fail to serve the country.

Students must become pioneers in reform, conserving all that is good in the nation and fearlessly ridding society of the innumerable abuses that have crept into it. Students must study and discuss social and economic questions, which are as important to our generation as the highest political question. A nation-building programme can leave no part of the nation untouched. Students have to react upon the dumb millions. They have to learn to think, not in terms of a province or a town, or a class, or a caste, but in terms of a continent and of its millions.

Let students penetrate the villages and find an unlimited scope for service, research and true knowledge. Professors would do well not to burden either their boys or girls with literary studies during the vacation, but prescribe to them educative outings in the villages. Vacations must be utilised for recreation, never for memorizing books. The students should devote the whole of their vacation to village service. To this end, instead of taking their walks along beaten paths, they should walk to the villages within easy reach of their institutions, and study the condition of the village-folk and befriend them. This habit will bring them in contact

with the villagers who, when the students actually go to stay in their midst, will, by reason of the previous occasional contact, receive them as friends rather than as strangers to be looked upon with suspicion. During the long vacation, the students will stay in the villages, and offer to conduct classes for adults, and to teach the rules of sanitation to the villagers and attend to the ordinary cases of illness. Often do thoughtless teachers prescribe lessons to be done during the vacation. This, in my opinion, is in any case a vicious habit. Vacation is just the period when students' minds should be free from the routine work, and be left free for self-help and original development. The village work, I have mentioned, is easily the best form of recreation and light instruction. It is obviously the best preparation for dedication to exclusive village service after finishing the studies. The student is expected to work with his own body and labour to dig benches for burying excreta and other refuse and turning them into manure, for cleaning wells and tanks, for building easy embankments, removing rubbish, and, generally, to make the villages more habitable. The village worker has also to touch the social side, and gently persuade the people to give up bad customs and bad habits, such as untouchability, infant marriage, unequal matches, drink and drug evil, and many local superstitions. He can promote inter-communal, inter-provincial and inter-caste harmony. He must take care and charge of the little ones, and begin their instruction, and carry on a night school for adults. The equipment for this service is a large heart and character above suspicion. Given these two conditions, every other needed qualification is bound to follow.

Harijan and Young India

6. COMMUNISM

Socialism and Communism are based on certain conceptions which are fundamentally different from ours. One such conception is their belief in the essential selfishness of human nature. I do not subscribe to it, for I know that the essential difference between man and the brute is that the former can respond to the call of the spirit in him, can rise superior to the passions that he owns in common with the brute and, therefore, superior to selfishness and violence, which belong to the brute nature and not to the immortal spirit of man. Our socialism or communism should be based on non-violence and on harmonious cooperation of labour and capital, landlord and tenant.

Q.: What is the difference between your technique and that of the Communists or Socialists for realizing the goal of economic equality?

A.: The Socialists and the Communists say they can do nothing to bring about economic equality today. They will just carry on propaganda in its favour and to that end they believe in generating and accentuating hatred. They say, when they get control over the State, they will enforce equality. Under my plan the State will be there to carry out the will of the people, not to dictate to them or force them to do its will. I shall bring about economic equality through non-violence, by converting the people to my point of view by harnessing the forces of love as against hatred. I will not wait till I have converted the whole society to my view but will straightway make a beginning with myself.

My socialism means "even unto this last." I do not want to rise on the ashes of the blind, the deaf and the dumb. In their socialism, probably these have no place. Their one aim is material progress. For instance, America aims at having a car for every citizen.

I do not. I want freedom for full expression of my personality. I must be free to build a staircase to Sirius if I want to. That does not mean that I want to do any such thing. Under the other socialism, there is no individual freedom. You own nothing, not even your body.

My socialism in its modified form means that the State does not own everything. It does in Russia. There you certainly do not own your body even. You may be arrested at any time, though you may have committed no crime. They may send you wherever they like.

Q.: Does not, under your socialism, the State own your children and educate them in any way it likes?

A.: All States do that. America does it.

Q.: Then America is not very different from Russia. You really object to dictatorship.

A.: But Socialism is dictatorship or else arm-chair philosophy. I want what you want: a free world. But the Communists don't. They want a system which enslaves the body and the mind.

Q.: Would you say that of Marx?

A.: The Communists have corrupted the Marxist teaching to suit their purpose.

Q.: What about Lenin?

A.: Lenin started it. Stalin has since completed it.

Q.: But the Indian Communists want communism of the Stalin type in India and want to use your name for that purpose.

A.: They won't succeed.

Harijan, 2-8-34, 31-3-46, 4-8-46

7. SARVODAYA

I believe that I discovered some of my deepest convictions reflected in this great book of Ruskin, and that is

why it so captured me and made me transform my life. A poet is one who can call forth the good latent in the human breast. Poets do not influence all alike, for every one is not evolved in an equal measure.

The teachings of *Unto This Last* I understood to be:

1. That the good of the individual is contained in the good of all.
2. That a lawyer's work has the same value as the barber's inasmuch as all have the same right of earning their livelihood from their work.
3. That a life of labour, i.e., the life of the tiller of the soil and the handicraftsman is the life worth living.

The first of these I knew. The second I had dimly realized. The third had never occurred to me. *Unto This Last* made it as clear as daylight for me—that the second and the third were contained in the first. I arose with the dawn, ready to reduce these principles to practice.

Autobiography

8. SELF RESTRAINT ESSENTIAL FOR STRENGTH

Brahmacharya-ashrama is the student-state. Celibacy is a narrow interpretation of *brahmacharya*. The original meaning is the life or the state of a student. That means control of the senses. But the whole period of study or acquirement of knowledge by means of control of the senses came to be regarded as *brahmacharya-ashrama*. This period of life necessarily means very much taking and very little giving. We are mainly recipients in this state, taking whatever we can get from parents, teachers and from the world. But the taking, if it carries—as it did—no obligation of simultaneous repayment, it neces-

sarily carries an obligation to repay the whole debt, with compound interest, at the proper time.

Students have to search within and look after their personal character. Purity of personal life is the one indispensable condition for building a sound education. And my meetings with thousands of students and the correspondence, which I continuously have with the students in which they pour out their innermost feelings and take me into their confidence, show me quite clearly that there is much left to be desired. I am sure that all of you understand thoroughly what I mean. In our languages, there is a beautiful word, equivalent for the word student, that is, *brahmachari*. *Vidyarthi* is a coined word and a poor equivalent for *brahmachari*. And I hope you know what the word *brahmachari* means. It means searcher after God, one who conducts himself so as to bring himself nearest to God in the least possible time. And all the great religions of the world, however much they may differ, are absolutely one on this fundamental, that no man or woman with an impure heart can possibly appear before the Great Throne. All our learning or recitation of the *Vedas*, correct knowledge of Sanskrit, Latin, Greek and what not, will avail us nothing, if they do not enable us to cultivate absolute purity of heart. The end of all knowledge must be building up of character.

Young India, 29-1-25, 8-9-27

Without overcoming lust, man cannot hope to rule over self. And without rule over self, there can be no *Swaraj* or *Rama Raj*. Rule of all without rule of oneself, would prove to be as deceptive and disappointing as a painted toy-mango, charming to look at outwardly but hollow and empty from within. No worker, who has not overcome lust, can hope to render any genuine service to the cause of Harijans, communal unity, *Khadi*, cow-protection or village reconstruction. Great causes like

these cannot be served by intellectual equipment alone, they call for spiritual effort or soul-force. Soul-force comes only through God's grace, and God's grace never descends upon a man who is a slave to lust.

Harijan, 21-11-36

Laws governing a life of self-restraint must be necessarily different from a life of self-indulgence. Therefore you will regulate your society, your reading, your haunts of recreation and your food.

You will seek the society of the good and the pure. You will resolutely refrain from reading passion-breeding novels and magazines and read the works that sustain humanity. You will make one book your constant companion for reference and guidance.

Many are the keys to health, and they are all quite essential; but, the one thing needful, above all others, is *Brahmacharya*. Pure air, pure water, and wholesome food certainly contribute to health. But how can we be healthy if we expend all the health that we acquire? How can we help being paupers if we spend all the money that we earn? There can be no doubt that men and women can never be virile or strong unless they observe true *Brahmacharya*. The hidden strength that God has given us should be conserved by rigid self-discipline, and transmitted into energy and power—not merely of body, but also of mind and soul.

So vital indeed is the relation between health and morals that we can never be perfectly healthy unless we lead a clean life. The earnest man, who, forgetting the errors of the past, begins to live a life of purity, will be able to reap the fruit of it straightway. Those who practise true *Brahmacharya* even for a short period will see how their body and mind improve steadily in strength and power, and they will not at any cost be willing to part with this treasure.

Brahmacharya properly and fully understood means

search after *Brahma*. *Brahma* is present in every one of us we must seek for it within with the help of meditation and consequent realisation. Realisation is impossible without complete control of all the senses. Therefore, *Brahmacharya* signifies control of all the senses at all times and at all places in thought, word and deed.

Perfect *Brahmacharis*, men or women, are perfectly sinless. They are therefore near to God, they are like God.

I believe that when the soul is sinless, the body which she inhabits is healthy too. That is to say, as the soul progresses towards freedom from sin, the body also tends to become immune from disease. But a healthy body in this case does not mean a strong body. A powerful soul lives only in a weak body. As the soul advances in strength the body languishes. A perfectly healthy body might yet be quite emaciated. A strong body is often diseased. Even if there be no disease such a body catches infection soon, while a perfectly healthy body, enjoys complete immunity from it. Pure blood has the power of expelling all obnoxious germs.

Self-Restraint vs. Self-Indulgence

9. TASK BEFORE THE STUDENTS

The students are the makers of the future. I am sorry to observe that neither the students have thought for themselves, nor the leaders have left them to their studies, so that they can become good citizens. The rot began with the alien government. We, the inheritors, have not taken the trouble to rectify the errors of the past. Then the different political groups have sought to catch the students, as if they were shoals of fish. And stupidly, the students have run into the net spread for them.

It is, therefore, a Herculean task for any students' organisation to undertake. But there must be a heroic spirit among them, who would not shrink from the task. The scope will be to knit them together into one. This the students cannot do, unless they will learn to steer clear of active politics. A student's duty is to study the various problems that require solution. His time for action comes, after he finishes his studies.

They must eschew active politics. It is a sign of one-sided growth that all parties have made use of the student world for their purpose. This was probably inevitable, when the purpose of education was to create a race of slaves, who would hug their slavery. That part of the business is over, I hope. The students' first business is to think out the education that the children of a free nation should receive. The education of today is obviously not such. I must not go into the question as to what it should be. Only they must not allow themselves to be deceived into the belief that it is the function only of the elders in the university senates. They must stimulate the faculty of thinking. I do not even remotely suggest that the students can force the situation by the strikes and the like. They have to create the public opinion by offering constructive and enlightened criticism. The senators having been brought up in the old school are slow to move. They can truly be acted upon by enlightenment.

A student's life has been rightly likened to the life of a *sanyasi*. He must be the embodiment of simple living and high thinking. He must be discipline incarnate. His pleasure is derived from his studies. They do provide the real pleasure, when study ceases to be a tax the student has to pay. What can be a greater pleasure than that a student marches from knowledge to more knowledge?

Message in Calcutta, 7-8-47

10. INDIA OF MY DREAMS

I shall strive for a constitution, which will release India from all thralldom and patronage, and give her, if need be, the right to sin. I shall work for an India, in which the poorest shall feel that it is their country in whose making they have an effective voice; an India in which there shall be no high class and low class of people; an India in which all communities shall live in perfect harmony. There can be no room in such an India for the curse of untouchability or the curse of the intoxicating drinks and drugs. Women will enjoy the same rights as men. Since we shall be at peace with all the rest of the world, neither exploiting, nor being exploited, we should have the smallest army imaginable. All interests not in conflict with the interests of the dumb millions will be scrupulously respected, whether foreign or indigenous. Personally, I hate distinction between foreign and indigenous. This is the India of my dreams.

The village communities should be revived. Indian villages produced and supplied to the Indian towns and cities all their wants. India became impoverished when our cities became foreign markets and began to drain the villages dry by dumping cheap and shoddy goods from foreign lands.

It is only when the cities realise the duty of making an adequate return to the villages for the strength and sustenance which they derive from them, instead of selfishly exploiting them, that a healthy and moral relationship between the two will spring up. And if the city children are to play their part in this great and noble work of social reconstruction, the vocations through which they are to receive their education ought to be directly related to the requirements of the villages.

The village movement is as much an education of the city people as of the villagers. Workers drawn from cities have to develop village mentality and learn the art of

living after the manner of villagers. This does not mean that they have to starve like the villagers. But it does mean that there must be a radical change in the old style of life.

We have got to be ideal villagers, not the villagers with their queer ideas about sanitation and giving no thought to how they eat and what they eat. Let us not, like most of them, cook anyhow, eat anyhow, live anyhow. Let us show them the ideal diet. Let us not go by mere likes and dislikes, but get at the root of those likes and dislikes.

Independence must begin at the bottom. Thus, every village will be a Republic or Panchayat having full powers. It follows, therefore, that every village has to be self-sustained and capable of managing its affairs even to the extent of defending itself against the whole world.

Harijan and Young India

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

1. AN EASTERN UNIVERSITY

In the midst of much that is discouraging in the present state of the world, there is one symptom of vital promise. Asia is awakening. This great event, if it be but directed along the right lines, is full of hope, not only for Asia herself, but for the whole world.

A most important truth, which we are apt to forget, is that a teacher can never truly teach unless he is still learning himself. A lamp can never light another lamp unless it continues to burn its own flame. The teacher who has come to the end of his subject, who has no living traffic with his knowledge, but merely repeats his lessons to his students, can only load their minds; he cannot quicken them. Truth not only must inform but inspire. If the inspiration dies out, and the information only accumulates, then truth loses its infinity. The greater parts of our learning in the schools has been wasted because, for most of our teachers, their subjects are like dead specimens of once living things, with which they have a learned acquaintance, but no communication of life and love.

The educational institution, therefore, which I have in mind has primarily for its object the constant pursuit of truth, from which the imparting of truth naturally follows. It must not be a dead cage in which living minds are fed with food artificially prepared. It should be an open house, in which students and teachers are at one. They must live their complete life together, dominated by a common aspiration for truth and a need of sharing all the delights of culture. In former days the great

mastercraftsmen had students in their workshops where they co-operated in shaping things to perfection. That was the place where knowledge could become living—that knowledge which not only has its substance and law, but its atmosphere subtly informed by a creative personality. For intellectual knowledge also has its aspect of creative art, in which the man who explores truth expresses something which is human in him—his enthusiasm, his courage, his sacrifice, his honesty, and his skill. In merely academical teaching we find subjects, but not the man who pursues the subjects; therefore the vital part of education remains incomplete.

For our Universities we must claim, not labelled packages of truth and authorised agents to distribute them, but truth in its living association with her lovers and seekers and discoverers. Also we must know that the concentration of the mind-forces scattered throughout the country is the most important mission of a University, which, like the nucleus of a living cell, should be the centre of the intellectual life of the people.

The bringing about of an intellectual unity in India is, I am told, difficult to the verge of impossibility owing to the fact that India has so many different languages. Such a statement is as unreasonable as to say that man, because he has a diversity of limbs, should find it impossible to realise life's unity in himself, and that only an earthworm composed of a tail and nothing else could truly know that it has a body.

If we were to take for granted, what some people maintain, that Western culture is the only source of light for our mind, then it would be like depending for day-break upon some star, which is the sun of a far distant sphere. The star may give us light, but not the day; it may give us direction in our voyage of exploration, but it can never open the full view of truth before our eyes. In fact, we can never use this cold starlight for stirring

the sap in our branches, and giving colour and bloom to our life. This is the reason why European education has become for India mere school lessons and no culture; a box of matches, good for the small uses of illumination, but not the light of morning, in which the use and beauty, and all the subtle mysteries of life are blended in one.

Let me say clearly that I have no distrust of any culture because of its foreign character. On the contrary, I believe that the shock of such extraneous forces is necessary for the vitality of our intellectual nature. It is admitted that much of the spirit of Christianity runs counter, not only to the classical culture of Europe, but to the European temperament altogether. And yet this alien movement of ideas, constantly running against the natural mental current of Europe, has been a most important factor in strengthening and enriching her civilisation, on account of the sharp antagonism of its intellectual direction. In fact, the European vernaculars first woke up to life and fruitful vigour when they felt the impact of this foreign thought-power with all its oriental forms and affinities. The same thing is happening in India. The European culture has come to us, not only with its knowledge, but with its velocity.

I have already hinted that Education should not be dragged out of its native element, the life-current of the people. Economic life covers the whole width of the fundamental basis of society because its necessities are the simplest and the most universal. Educational institutions, in order to obtain their fulness of truth, must have close association with this economic life. The highest mission of education is to help us to realise the inner principle of the unity of all knowledge and all the activities of our social and spiritual being. Society in its early stage was held together by its economic co-operation, when all its members felt in unison a natural interest in their right to live. Civilisation could never have been started

at all if such was not the case. And civilisation will fall to pieces if it never again realises the spirit of mutual help and the common sharing of benefits in the elemental necessities of life. The idea of such economic co-operation should be made the basis of our University. It must not only instruct, but live; not only think, but produce.

Our ancient *tapovanas*, or forest schools, which were natural universities, were not shut off from the daily life of the people. Masters and students gathered fruit and fuel, and took their cattle out to graze, supporting themselves by the work of their own hands. Spiritual education was a part of the spiritual life itself, which comprehended all life. Our centre of culture should not only be the centre of the intellectual life of India, but the centre of her economic life also. It must co-operate with the villages round it, cultivate land, breed cattle, spin cloths, press oil from oil-seeds; it must produce all the necessities, devising the best means, using the best materials and calling science to its aid. Its very existence should depend upon the success of its industrial activities carried out on the co-operative principle, which will unite the teachers and students and villagers of the neighbourhood in a living and active bond of necessity. This will give us also a practical industrial training, whose motive force is not the greed of profit.

What must be the religious ideal that is to rule our centre of Indian culture? The one abiding ideal in the religious life of India has been *Mukti*, the deliverance of man's soul from the grip of self, its communion with the Infinite Soul through its union in *ananda* with the universe. This religion of spiritual harmony is not a theological doctrine to be taught, as a subject in the class for half an hour each day. It is the spiritual truth and beauty of our attitude towards our surroundings, our conscious relationship with the Infinite, and the lasting power of the Eternal in the passing moments of our

life. Such a religious ideal can only be made possible by making provision for students to live in intimate touch with nature, daily to grow in an atmosphere of service offered to all creatures, tending trees, feeding birds and animals, learning to feel the immense mystery of the soil and water and air.

Along with this, there should be some common sharing of life with the tillers of the soil and the humble workers in the neighbouring villages; studying their crafts, inviting them to the feasts, joining them in works of co-operation for communal welfare; and in our intercourse we should be guided, not by moral maxims or the condescension of social superiority, but by natural sympathy of life for life, and by the sheer necessity of love's sacrifice for its own sake. In such an atmosphere students would learn to understand that humanity is a divine harp of many strings, waiting for its one grand music. Those who realise this unity are made ready for the pilgrimage through the night of suffering, and along the path of sacrifice, to the great meeting of Man in the future, for which the call comes to us across the darkness.

Life, in such a centre, should be simple and clean. We should never believe that simplicity of life might make us unsuited to the requirements of the society of our time. It is the simplicity of the tuning-fork, which is needed all the more because of the intricacy of strings in the instrument. In the morning of our career our nature needs the pure and the perfect note of a spiritual ideal in order to fit us for the complications of our later years.

In other words, this institution should be a perpetual creation by the co-operative enthusiasm of teachers and students, growing with the growth of their soul; a world in itself, self-sustained, independent, rich with ever-renewing life, radiating life across space and time,

attracting and maintaining round it a planetary system of dependent bodies. Its aim should lie in imparting life-breath to the complete man, who is intellectual as well as economic bound by social bonds, but aspiring towards spiritual freedom and final perfection.

Selections from Tagore

2. THE RELIGION OF THE FOREST

We stand before this great world. The truth of our life depends upon our attitude of mind towards it—an attitude which is formed by our habit of dealing with it according to the special circumstances of our surroundings and our temperaments. It guides our attempts to establish relations with the universe either by conquest or by union, either through the cultivation of power or through that of sympathy. And thus, in our realisation of the truth of existence, we put our emphasis either upon the principle of dualism or upon the principle of unity.

The Indian sages have held in the Upanishads that the emancipation of our soul lies in its realising the ultimate truth of unity. They said:

ईशावास्यमिदं सर्वं यत्किञ्च जगत्यां जगत् ।

तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथा मा गृधः कस्यस्विद्धनम् ॥

Know all that moves in this moving world as enveloped by God; and find enjoyment through renunciation, not through greed of possession.

The meaning of this is, that, when we know the multiplicity of things as the final truth, we try to augment ourselves by the external possession of them; but, when we know the Infinite Soul as the final truth, then through our union with it we realise the joy of our soul. Therefore, it has been said of those who have attained their fulfilment, “sarvam eva vishanti” (they enter into all things). Their perfect relation with this world is the

relation of union.

This ideal of perfection preached by the forest-dwellers of ancient India runs through the heart of our classical literature and still dominates our mind. The legends related in our epics cluster under the forest shade bearing all through their narrative the message of the forest-dwellers. Our two greatest classical dramas find their background in scenes of the forest hermitage, which are permeated by the association of these sages.

The view of this world which India has taken is summed up in one compound Sanskrit word, *Sacchidananda*. The meaning is that Reality, which is essentially one, has three phases. The first is *Sat*, it is the simple fact that things are, the fact which relates us to all things through the relationship of common existence. The second is *Chit*, it is the fact that we know, which relates us to all things through the relationship of knowledge. The third is *Ananda*, it is the fact that we enjoy, which unites us with all things through the relationship of love.

According to the true Indian view, our consciousness of the world, merely as the sum total of things that exist, and as governed by laws, is imperfect. But it is perfect when our consciousness realises all things as spiritually one with it, and therefore capable of giving us joy. For us the highest purpose of this world is not merely living in it, knowing it and making use of it, but realising our own selves in it through expansion of sympathy; not alienating ourselves from it and dominating it, but comprehending and uniting it with ourselves in perfect union.

Viewed from without, India, in the time of Kalidasa, appeared to have reached the zenith of civilisation, excelling as she did in luxury, literature and the arts. But from the poems of Kalidasa it is evident that this very magnificence of wealth and enjoyment worked against the ideal that sprang and flowed forth from the sacred

solitude of the forest. These poems contain the voice of warnings against the gorgeous unreality of that age, which, like a Himalayan avalanche, was slowly gliding down to an abyss of catastrophe. And from his seat beside all the glories of Vikramaditya's throne the poet's heart yearns for the purity and simplicity of India's past age of spiritual striving. And it was this yearning which impelled him to go back to the annals of the ancient Kings of Raghu's line for the narrative poem, in which he traced the history of the rise and fall of the ideal that should guide the rulers of men.

The characters of two eminent sages have been described in our mythology. One was Vashishtha and another Vishvamitra. Both of them were great, but they represented two different types of wisdom; and there was conflict between them. Vishvamitra sought to achieve power and was proud of it; Vashishtha was rudely smitten by that power. But his hurt and his loss could not touch the illumination of his soul; for he rose above them and could forgive. Ramachandra, the great hero of our epic, had his initiation to the spiritual life from Vashishtha, the life of inner peace and perfection. But he had his initiation to war from Vishvamitra, who called him to kill the demons and gave him weapons that were irresistible.

These two sages symbolise in themselves the two guiding spirits of civilisation. Can it be true that they shall never be reconciled? If so, can ever the age of peace and co-operation dawn upon the human world? Creation is the harmony of contrary forces—the forces of attraction and repulsion. When they join hands, all the fire and fight are changed into the smile of flowers and the songs of birds. When there is only one of them triumphant and the other defeated, then either there is the death of cold rigidity or that of suicidal explosion.

Humanity, for ages, has been busy with the one great creation of spiritual life. Its best wisdom, its discipline,

its literature and art, all the teachings and self-sacrifice of its noblest teachers, have been for this. But the harmony of contrary forces, which give their rhythm to all creation, has not yet been perfected by man in his civilisation, and the Creator in him is baffled over and over again. He comes back to his work, however, and makes himself busy, building his world in the midst of desolation and ruins. His history is the history of his aspiration interrupted and renewed. And one truth of which he must be reminded, therefore, is that the power which accomplishes the miracle of creation, by bringing conflicting forces into the harmony of the One, is no passion, but a love which accepts the bonds of self-control from the joy of its own immensity—a love whose sacrifice is the manifestation of its endless wealth within itself.

In the political life of the modern age the idea of democracy has given mankind faith in the individual. It gives each man trust in his own possibilities, and pride in his humanity. Something of the same idea, we find, has been working in the popular mind of India, with regard to its religious consciousness. Over and over again it tries to assert, not only that God is for each of us, but also that God is in each of us. These people have no special incarnations in their simple theology, because they know that God is special to each individual. They say that to be born a man is the greatest privilege that can fall to a creature in all the world. They assert that gods in Paradise envy human beings, why? Because God's will, in giving his love, finds its completeness in man's will returning that love. Therefore Humanity is a necessary factor in the perfecting of the divine truth. The Infinite, for its self-expression, comes down into the manifoldness of the Finite; and the Finite, for its self-realisation, must rise into the unity of the Infinite. Then only is the Cycle of Truth complete.

Creative Unity

3. CIVILIZATION AND PROGRESS

Civilization cannot merely be a growing totality of happenings that by chance have assumed a particular shape and tendency which we consider to be excellent. It must be the expression of some guiding moral force which we have evolved in our society for the object of attaining perfection. The word 'perfection' has a simple and definite meaning when applied to an inanimate thing, or even to a creature whose life has principally a biological significance. But man being complex and always on the path of transcending himself, the meaning of the word 'perfection', as applied to him, cannot be crystallized into an inflexible idea. This has made it possible for different races to have different shades of definition for this term.

The Sanskrit word *dharma* is the nearest synonym in our own language that occurs to me for the word civilization. In fact, we have no other word except perhaps some newly-coined one, lifeless and devoid of atmosphere. The specific meaning of *dharma* is that principle which holds us firm together and leads us to our best welfare. The general meaning of this word is the essential quality of a thing.

Dharma for man is the best expression of what he is in truth. He may reject *dharma* and may choose to be an animal or a machine and thereby may not injure himself, may even gain strength and wealth from an external and material point of view; yet this will be worse than death for him as a man.

One who is merely a comfortable money-making machine does not carry in himself the perfect manifestations of man. He is like a gaudily embroidered purse which is empty. He raises a rich altar in his life to the blind and deaf image of a yawning negation and all the costly sacrifices continually offered to it are poured into

the mouth of an ever hungry abyss. And according to our scriptures, even while he swells and shouts and violently gesticulates, he perishes.

Lectures And Addresses

The one question before all others that has to be answered by our civilisations is not what they have and in what quantity, but what they express and how. In a society, the production and circulation of materials, the amassing and spending of money, may go on, as in the interminable prolonging of a straight line, if its people forget to follow some spiritual design of life which curbs them and transform them into an organic whole. For growth is not that enlargement which is merely adding to the dimensions of incompleteness. Growth is the movement of a whole towards a yet fuller wholeness. Living things start with this wholeness from the beginning of their career. A child has its own perfection as a child; it would be ugly if it appeared as an unfinished man. Life is a continual process of synthesis, and not of additions. Our activities of production and enjoyment of wealth attain that spirit of wholeness when they are blended with a creative ideal. Otherwise they have the insane aspect of the eternally unfinished: they become like locomotive engines which have railway lines but no stations; which rush on towards a collision of uncontrolled forces or to a sudden breakdown of the overstrained machinery.

Through creation man expresses his truth; through that expression he gains back his truth in its fulness. Human society is for the best expression of man, and that expression, according to its perfection, leads him to the full realisation of the divine in humanity. When that expression is obscure, then his faith in the Infinite that is within him becomes weak; then his aspiration cannot go beyond the idea of success. His faith in the Infinite is creative; his desire for success is constructive; one is

his home, and the other is his office. With the overwhelming growth of necessity, civilisation becomes a gigantic office to which the home is a mere appendix. The predominance of the pursuit of success gives to society the character of what we call *Shudra* in India. In fighting a battle, the *Kshatriya*, the noble knight, followed his honour for his ideal, which was greater than victory itself but the mercenary *Shudra* has success for his object. The name *Shudra* symbolises a man who has no margin round him beyond his bare utility. The word denotes a classification which includes all naked machines that have lost their completeness of humanity, be their work manual or intellectual. They are like walking stomachs or brains, and we feel, in pity, urged to call on God and cry, "Cover them up for mercy's sake with some veil of beauty and life."

Men of great faith have always called us to wake up to great expectations, and the prudent have always laughed at them and said that these did not belong to reality. But the poet in man knows that reality is a creation, and human reality has to be called forth from its obscure depth by man's faith which is creative. There was a day when the human reality was the brutal reality. That was the only capital we had with which to begin our career. But age after age there has come to us the call of faith, which said against all the evidence of fact: "You are more than you appear to be, more than your circumstances seem to warrant. You are to attain the impossible, you are immortal." The unbelievers had laughed and tried to kill the faith. But faith grew stronger with the strength of martyrdom and at her bidding higher realities have been created over the strata of the lower. Has not a new age come today, borne by thunder-clouds, ushered in by a universal agony of suffering? Are we not waiting today for a great call of faith, which will say to us: "Come out of your present

limitations. You are to attain the impossible, you are immortal?" The nations who are not prepared to accept it, who have all their trust in their present machines of system, and have no thought or space to spare to welcome the sudden guest who comes as the messenger of emancipation, are bound to court defeat whatever may be their present wealth and power.

This great world, where it is a creation, an expression of the infinite—where its morning sings of joy to the newly awakened life, and its evening stars sing to the traveller, weary and worn, of the triumph of life in a new birth across death—has its call for us. The call has ever roused the creator in man, and urged him to reveal the truth, to reveal the Infinite in himself. It is ever claiming from us, in our own creations, co-operation with God, reminding us of our divine nature, which finds itself in freedom of spirit. Our society exists to remind us, through its various voices, that the ultimate truth in man is not in his intellect or his possessions; it is in his illumination of mind, in his extension of sympathy across all barriers of caste and colour; in his recognition of the world, not merely as a storehouse of power, but as a habitation of man's spirit, with its eternal music of beauty and its inner light of the divine presence.

Creative Unity

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

I. THE FUTURE BECKONS TO US

What a wonderful inheritance is ours and how shall we maintain it? How shall we serve our country, which has given so much to us, and make her great and strong, in spirit and in the material things of the world, and make her people happy and prosperous?

Broadcast Speech, 31-12-52

India is on the move and the old order passes. Too long have we been passive spectators of events, the playthings of others. The initiative comes to our people now and we shall make the history of our choice. Let us all join in this mighty task and make India, the pride of our heart, great among nations, foremost in the arts of peace and progress. The door is open and destiny beckons to all. There is no question of who wins and who loses, for we have to go forward and together as comrades and either all of us win or we all go down together. But there is going to be no failure. We go forward to success, to independence and to the freedom and well-being of the four hundred millions of Indians.

Destiny has cast a certain role on this country. Whether anyone of us present here can be called men or women of destiny or not, I do not know. That is a big word which does not apply to average human beings. But whether we are men or women of destiny or not, India is a country of destiny. And so far as we represent this great country with a great destiny stretching out in front of her, we also have to act as men and women of destiny, viewing all our problems in that long perspective of destiny and of the world and of Asia; never forgetting the great

responsibility that freedom has cast upon us, not losing ourselves in petty controversies and debates which might be useful, but which would in this context be either out of place or out of tune. Vast numbers of minds and eyes look in this direction. We have to remember them. Hundreds of millions of our own people look to us and hundreds of millions of others also look to us.

Freedom brings responsibility; of course, there is no such thing as freedom without responsibility. Irresponsibility itself means lack of freedom. Therefore, we have to be conscious of this tremendous burden of responsibility which freedom has brought: the discipline of freedom and the organised way of working freedom. But there is something even more than that. The freedom that has come to India by virtue of many things, history, tradition, resources, our geographical position, our great potential and all that, inevitably leads India to play an important part in world affairs.

The future beckons to us. Whither do we go and what shall be our endeavour? To bring freedom and opportunity to the common man, to the peasants and workers of India; to fight and end poverty and ignorance and disease; to build up a prosperous, democratic and progressive nation, and to create social, economic and political institutions which will ensure justice and fullness of life to every man and woman.

We have hard work ahead. There is no resting for any one of us till we redeem our pledge in full, till we make all the people of India what destiny intended them to be. We are citizens of a great country, on the verge of bold advance, and we have to live up to that high standard. All of us, to whatever religion we may belong, are equally the children of India with equal rights, privileges and obligations. We cannot encourage communalism or narrow-mindedness, for no nation can be great whose people are narrow in thought or in action.

Speech in Constituent Assembly, 8-11-48

All of us talk of India and all of us demand many things from India. What do we give her in return? We can take nothing from her beyond what we give her. India will ultimately give us what we give her of love and service and productive and creative work. India will be what we are: our thoughts and action will shape her. Born of her fruitful womb, we are children of hers, little bits of the India of today, and yet we are also the parents of the India of tomorrow. If we are big, so will India be, and if we grow little-minded and narrow in outlook, so also will India be.

We have to find ourselves again and go back to the free India of our dreams. We have to rediscover the old values and place them in the new setting of a free India. For freedom brings responsibility and can only be sustained by self-discipline, hard work, and the spirit of a free people.

So let us be rid of everything that limits us and degrades us. Let us cast out fear and communalism and provincialism. Let us build up a free and democratic India, where the interest of the masses of our people has always the first place to which all other interests must submit.

Broadcast Speech, 15-8-48

In India, the first essential is the maintenance of the unity of the country, not merely a political unity but a unity of mind and heart, which discards the narrow urges which separate and disunite, and which breaks down the barriers which are raised in the name of religion or between State and State or in any other form. It is of the first importance that we should not lose ourselves in the passion and prejudice of the moment. If we are to aim high, we must keep to our moorings and adhere to the high principles which have always formed the background of Indian thought. Greatness comes from vision, tolerance of spirit, compassion and an even temper which

is not ruffled by ill-fortune or good fortune alike. Not through hatred and violence or internal discord can we make real progress. As in the world today, so also in our own country, the philosophy of force can no longer pay dividends, and our progress must be based on peaceful co-operation and tolerance of each other.

We live in an age of science. We hear and read of revolutions, but the greatest revolutionary force of the past 150 years has been science, which has transformed human life and has changed political, social and economic organisations. This process of change goes on at an ever more rapid pace and we have to understand it and adapt ourselves to it.

Broadcast Speech, 31-12-52

Freedom has no meaning unless it brings relief to the masses from their many burdens. Democracy means tolerance, tolerance not merely of those who agree with us, but of those who do not agree with us. With the coming of freedom our patterns of behaviour must change also so as to fit in with this freedom.

All the world suffers from the after-effects of the World War, and inflation and rising prices and unemployment oppress the people. In India we have all these and, in addition, the care of vast numbers of our brothers and sisters who have suffered untold hardship, and have been driven away from their homes to seek a new life elsewhere.

It is this war we have to fight, the war against economic crisis and to rehabilitate the disinherited. In this war there is no hatred or violence but only service of our country and our people. In this war every Indian can be a soldier. This is no time for individuals or groups to think of a narrow self-interest forgetting the larger good. This is no time for wrangling or the spirit of faction.

And so I appeal to all my countrymen and countrywomen who have the love of India in their hearts and the

passion to raise her masses, to cast aside the barriers that separate them and to join together in this historic and magnificent task worthy of a great people.

To the youth of the country I would make a special appeal for they are the leaders of tomorrow and on them will be cast the burden of upholding India's honour and freedom.

My generation is a passing one and soon we shall hand over the bright torch of India, which embodies her great and eternal spirit, to younger hands and stronger arms. May they hold it aloft, undimmed and untarnished, so that its light reaches every home and brings faith and courage and well-being to our masses.

Broadcast Speech, 15-8-48

2. THE STRENGTH AND THE WEAKNESS OF INDIA

The search for the sources of India's strength and for her deterioration and decay is long and intricate. Yet the recent causes of that decay are obvious enough. She fell behind in the march of technique, and Europe, which had long been backward in many matters, took the lead in technical progress. Behind this technical progress was the spirit of science and a bubbling life and spirit which displayed itself in many activities and in adventurous voyages of discovery. New techniques gave military strength to the countries of western Europe and it was easy for them to spread out and dominate the East. That is the story not of India only but of almost the whole of Asia.

Why this should have happened so is more difficult to unravel, for India was not lacking in mental alertness and technical skill in earlier times. One senses a progressive deterioration during centuries. The urge to life and endeavour becomes less, the creative spirit fades

away and gives place to the imitative. Where triumphant and rebellious thought had tried to pierce the mysteries of nature and the universe, the wordy commentator comes with his glosses and long explanations. Magnificent art and sculpture give way to a meticulous carving of intricate detail without nobility of conception or design. The vigour and richness of language, powerful yet simple, are followed by highly ornate and complex literary forms. The urge to adventure and the overflowing life which led to vast schemes of distant colonization and the transplantation of Indian culture in far lands, all these fade away and a narrow orthodoxy taboos even the crossing of the high seas. A rational spirit of inquiry, so evident in earlier times, which might well have led to the further growth of science, is replaced by irrationalism and a blind idolatry of the past. Indian life becomes a sluggish stream, living in the past, moving slowly through the accumulations of dead centuries. The heavy burden of the past crushes it and a kind of coma seizes it. It is not surprising that in this condition of mental stupor and physical weariness India should have deteriorated and remained rigid and immobile while other parts of the world marched ahead.

India must break with much of her past and not allow it to dominate the present. Our lives are encumbered with the dead wood of the past; all that is dead and has served its purpose has to go. But that does not mean a break with, or a forgetting of, the vital and life-giving in that past. We can never forget the ideal that have moved our race, the dreams of the Indian people through the ages, the wisdom of the ancients, the buoyant energy and love of life and nature of our forefathers, their spirit of curiosity and mental adventure, the daring of their thought, their splendid achievements in literature, art and culture, their love of truth and beauty and freedom, the basic values that

they set up, their understanding of life's mysterious ways, their toleration of other ways than theirs, their capacity to absorb other peoples and their cultural accomplishments, synthesize them and develop a varied and mixed culture; nor can we forget the myriad experience which have built up our ancient race and lie embedded in our subconscious minds. We will never forget them or cease to take pride in that noble heritage of ours. If India forgets them she will no longer remain India and much that has made her our joy and pride will cease to be.

It is not this that we have to break with, but all the dust and dirt of ages that have covered her up and hidden her inner beauty and significance, the excrescences and abortions that have twisted and petrified her spirit, set it in rigid frames, and stunted her growth. We have to cut away these excrescences and remember afresh the core of that ancient wisdom and adapt it to our present circumstances. We have to get out of traditional ways of thought and living which, for all the good they may have done in a past age, and there was much good in them, have ceased to have significance today. We have to make our own all the achievements of the human race and join up with others in the exciting adventure of Man, more exciting today perhaps than in earlier ages, realizing that this has ceased to be governed by national boundaries or old divisions and is common to the race of man everywhere. We have to revive the passion for truth and beauty and freedom which gives meaning to life, and develop afresh that dynamic outlook and spirit of adventure which distinguished those of our race who, in ages past, built our house on these strong and enduring foundations. Old as we are, with memories stretching back to the early dawns of human history and endeavour, we have to grow young again, in tune with our present time, with the irrepressible spirit and joy of youth in the present and its faith in the future.

The spirit of the age will triumph. In India, at any rate, we must aim at equality. That does not and cannot mean that everybody is physically or intellectually or spiritually equal or can be made so. But it does mean equal opportunities for all and no political, economic or social barrier in the way of any individual or group. It means a faith in humanity and a belief that there is no race or group that cannot advance and make good in its own way, given the chance to do so. It means a realization of the fact that the backwardness or degradation of any group is not due to inherent failings in it but principally to lack of opportunities and long suppression by other groups. It should mean an understanding of the modern world wherein real progress and advance, whether national or international, have become very much a joint affair and a backward group pulls back others. Therefore not only must equal opportunities be given to all, but special opportunities for educational, economic and cultural growth must be given to backward groups so as to enable them to catch up to those who are ahead of them. Any such attempt to open the doors of opportunity to all in India will release enormous energy and ability and transform the country with amazing speed.

In India and perhaps in other countries also, there are alternating tendencies for self-glorification and self-pity. Both are undesirable and ignoble. It is not through sentimentality and emotional approaches that we can understand life but by a frank and courageous facing of realities. We cannot lose ourselves in aimless and romantic quests unconnected with life's problems, for destiny marches on and does not await for our leisure. Nor can we concern ourselves with externals only, forgetting the significance of the inner life of man. There has to be a balance, and attempt at harmony between them. 'The greatest good,' wrote Spinoza in the seventeenth century, 'is the knowledge of the union which the

mind has with the whole of nature . . . The more the mind knows the better it understands its forces and the order of nature; the more it understands its forces or strength, the better it will be able to direct itself and lay down rules for itself; and the more it understands the order of nature, the more easily it will be able to liberate itself from useless things, this is the whole method.'

In our individual lives also we have to discover a balance between the body and the spirit, and between man as part of nature and man as part of society. 'For our perfection,' says Tagore, 'we have to be vitally savage and mentally civilized; we should have the gift to be natural with nature and human with human society.' Perfection is beyond us for it means the end, and we are always journeying, to approach something that is ever receding. And in each one of us are many different human beings with their inconsistencies and contradictions, each pulling in a different direction. There is the love of life and the disgust with life, the acceptance of all that life involves and the rejection of much of it. It is difficult to harmonize these contrary tendencies, and sometimes one of them is dominant and sometimes another. 'Oftentimes,' says Lao-tze :

Oftentimes, one strips oneself of passion

In order to see the Secret of Life;

Oftentimes, one regards life with passion,

In order to see its manifold results.'

For all our powers of reason and understanding and all our accumulated knowledge and experience, we know little enough about life's secrets, and can only guess at its mysterious processes. But we can always admire its beauty and, through art, exercise the god-like function of creation. Though we may be weak and erring mortals, living a brief and uncertain span of life, yet there is something of the stuff of the immortal gods in us. 'We must not,' therefore, says Aristotle, 'obey those

who urge us, because we are human and mortal, to think human and mortal thoughts; in so far as we may we should practise immortality, and omit no effort to live in accordance with the best that is in us.'

The Discovery of India

3. A STRONG DEMOCRATIC INDIA—OUR NATIONAL OBJECTIVE

Let us be clear about our national objective. We aim at a strong, free and democratic India where every citizen has an equal place and full opportunity of growth and service, where present-day inequalities in wealth and status have ceased to be, where our vital impulses are directed to creative and co-operative endeavour. In such an India communalism, separatism, isolation, untouchability, bigotry, and exploitation of man by man have no place, and while religion is free, it is not allowed to interfere with the political and economic aspects of a nation's life. If that is so, then all this business of Hindu and Muslim and Christian and Sikh must cease in so far as our political life is concerned and we must build a united but composite nation where both individual and national freedom are secure.

Convocation Address, Allahabad 'Varsity, 13-12-47

Religion must not be brought into politics. If that was done, then India's old disease of dissensions would flare up once again. That would only result in harming India's unity.

History teaches us that this tendency has been the cause of India's ruin in the past. This could even now prove ruinous to the country's freedom if it is not checked. Everyone is welcome to profess one's religion, but it should not be allowed to enter the political field. In

the political field everyone is equal. Whatever one's religion, everybody has equal rights. Communal organizations which are trying to sow dissension among the people, either deliberately or unknowingly have done great harm in the past. Their policies will neither help India nor themselves.

Introduction of communalism into politics would not necessarily mean that Hindus, being in a majority, would dominate the scene. This was bound to create glaring dissensions among Hindus themselves.

Speech at Dehradun, 11-12-53

In India if we depart from the peaceful methods, whatever other results might be achieved one thing is certain and that is, there can be no progress. In fact, we will destroy much of what we have achieved. Our minds should be very clear about it. If we leave off peaceful methods democracy will be the first victim and progress the second. Also, constituted as we are, with different groups and religions if we once let open the doors to violent conflicts then you do not know what will get through it. If we keep this in mind that we must proceed on the basis of unity and the method of peaceful progress, the third thing follows, namely, that we should function in a democratic way. All this implies many revolutionary changes in the present set up of our social structure.

If we are to bring about these revolutionary changes by violent methods, with the use of force, it might upset not only the bad but also put an end to much of the constructive and co-operative effort that we have already put in. The cost of violence, much more than the merits about it, is tremendous. That is the kind of logical reasoning that comes into my mind which I am putting to you to consider because many of our people are attracted, first of all, to rather idealistic approaches. They are attracted towards some kind of magic by which

they think they can reach the ideal suddenly.

Speech at Trivandrum, 28-12-52

Obviously, we have inherited a certain structure, a certain political structure, administrative structure, judicial structure, economic structure and the rest; we have to change that. Now, how are we going to change that? There can be two ways of changing. One is: smash it to little bits and build anew, break it up, if you like, get a clean slate and write upon it. As a matter of fact, there is no clean slate in life; there never has been, there never will be. You can never get rid of the past completely. Nevertheless, you can have a more or less clean slate. You can have something that follows from the destruction of the existing apparatus of government or economic, social set-up or structure. If we decide that it is essential for the progress of the nation that we should smash up the structure that we have, well, let us set about doing it and smashing it up, understanding the consequences of it. Because I do not personally agree with that, I want you to realize that one must be clear about it; we are neither trying to smash up and build anew, right from the bottom up, nor are we going to change as rapidly as we can, as rapidly as we are capable of, the existing structure and bring it nearer to what we think is the right one. We have to choose between the two, because the adoption of a middle course is fatal. You do not completely smash it up, so you never start building again; and you do not allow the changing process to go on. Neither takes place, except a continuous deterioration and a gradual drifting towards collapse. Now, this business of breaking up, smashing it and starting anew—some people say that—the consequences of that of course are: if you succeed, first of all, it means an enormous conflict because some resist—some do not. It means a continuous conflict, not an immediate smashing up as we might like. A slow smashing up

takes a mighty long time and prevents other things being done.

It means, if you succeed in smashing up, then you perhaps have a clean slate, but a completely clean slate, as I said, is impossible. The smashing up process also enfeebles the nation in every sense from the military, from economic, from the financial point of view. Therefore, suddenly, India at a critical phase of her young existence as a free country, is enfeebled. I do not know what the consequences might be. As a person responsible for the State of India, I dare not enfeeble my nation and give a chance to evil-minded countries and evil-minded forces to come in and play havoc in this country. I may hereby imperil my freedom. Freedom will be imperilled, not only politically, from the military point of view, but from the economic point of view. If we are enfeebled and helpless and in a starving condition, and we cannot do anything, what are we to do about it? We may take out our processions and shout out our slogans. How are we to feed these millions who have no food and who gradually arrive at so low a level, that they are too weak really to stand up to the world.

That is an almost inevitable consequence, the immediate consequence, whatever the final emergence may be; the inevitable consequence of any process, which aims at smashing up the present structure completely, is the enfeebling of the nation, the imperilling of our freedom, and evil forces, evil countries taking advantage of it and exploiting the situation for their own profit and advantage. I do not want that to happen. If this smashing up takes place, then I repeat that this generation—that is, the generation of the young men and young women who have taken their degrees and will be citizens tomorrow or the day after, — will be a ruined generation.

I wish to put another aspect of it and that is in terms of violence and non-violence, peaceful methods and

violent methods. That is a good test, because if you employ peaceful methods, I do not think you are likely to go very wrong, even though you may employ them for wrong purposes, you are safe and you apply your own brake. The peaceful method is itself a brake on too much wrong action. If you have to employ the violent method, however much a violent method might be justified against a foreign enemy and against a foreign dominating nation in a country, that is another argument; as a matter of fact, even against the foreigner we employed peaceful methods on the whole. But the use of violent methods on a democratic issue, not against a foreigner but against some of yourselves, is a most dangerous thing.

In India, as she is situated today, the use of methods of violence is the greatest act of treason that any Indian can be guilty of. We have a strong unifying force, but at the same time we have all kinds of disruptive and fissiparous tendencies among us. We have fought communalism, and we have suffered from communalism. We have provincialism, and we have so many "isms" and separating tendencies. And now, if in this field, violence comes in any shape or form and people take to violent methods, then the result is, of course, that violence is smashed and quickly stopped, as indeed every government must suppress violence. No government can take risks with violence.

In a democratic country especially, you cannot expect the government just to pass laws and do everything for you. It is an astonishing thing how you and I and most of us have not got rid of the habit of mind which we developed under British rule. We have not got rid of the habit of action that we developed under British rule. This business of walking up and down with half a dozen banners might have been a suitable thing under British rule. It is—I will not say it is never suitable—it is

seldom suitable today. I am talking about the habit of mind which the British Government tried to inculcate, talking about themselves as a *ma bap* Government; that is, the Government is to do everything, the people are merely to send in petitions to some Government official and he will graciously pass orders on them. That is not the way that a democratic government functions.

A government which deals with vital social problems has to function very differently from a government which is essentially a police state. A police state has only to keep the peace, to collect revenue, more or less, and do a few other little jobs. Today, we have to tackle intricate social, economic problems. Those problems cannot be tackled by a *farman* or ukase or a decree from the Government. There must be right laws. I agree that Government activity must be right and ought to be right. But in such economic matters governmental activity goes only thus far. It is the activity of the people, it is the temper of the people, and the cooperation that the people in general give that will solve these problems this way or that. And I tell you that the best of our laws or activities of the Government can be, if not nullified, lessened greatly in effect if there is no will to work in the people or to cooperate to that end. And I tell you also that even an enfeebled government, even a bad political government can yield greater results in the country if people cooperate to that end.

So, the essential thing is how to develop that psychology of work and cooperation among the people. And today, if we are suffering from anything in India, it is the absence of that right psychology. Whether it is in the worker, whether it is in the owner of the factory or whether it is in the younger generation, it is entirely a wrong psychology. It is the psychology of thinking that they can achieve ends by strikes and demonstrations and the rest. And I am sorry to say that people who ought

to know better are somehow taken in by it, somehow encourage this kind of things. Now, I tell you that I consider nothing more dangerous for India's present and India's future than the continuance of this psychology.

Convocation Address, Lucknow 'Varsity, 28-1-49

Democracy demands discipline, tolerance and mutual regard. Freedom demands respect for the freedom of others. In a democracy changes are made by mutual discussion and persuasion and not by violent means. If a government has no popular support, another government which commands that popular support takes its place. It is only small groups who know that they cannot get sufficient popular support that resort to methods of violence, imagining in their folly that they can gain their ends in this way. This is not only utterly wrong but it is also utterly foolish. For the reaction to the violence of the minority, which seeks to coerce the majority, is to provoke the majority into violence against them.

Speech at Allahabad, 12-2-48

4. NEED OF A SCIENTIFIC TEMPER

Truth as ultimate reality, if such there is, must be eternal, imperishable, unchanging. But that infinite, eternal and unchanging truth cannot be apprehended in its fullness by the finite mind of man which can only grasp, at most, some small aspect of it limited by time and space, and by the state of development of that mind and the prevailing ideology of the period. As the mind develops and enlarges its scope, as ideologies change and new symbols are used to express that truth, new aspects of it come to light, though the core of it may yet be the same. And so, truth has ever to be sought and renewed, reshaped and developed, so that, as understood by man, it might keep in line with the growth of his thought and the

development of human life. Only then does it become a living truth for humanity, supplying the essential need for which it craves, and offering guidance in the present and for the future.

But if some one aspect of the truth has been petrified by dogma in a past age, it ceases to grow and develop and adapt itself to the changing need of humanity; other aspects of it remain hidden and it fails to answer the urgent questions of a succeeding age. It is no longer dynamic but static, no longer a life-giving impulse but dead thought and ceremonial and a hindrance to the growth of the mind and of humanity. Indeed, it is probably not even understood to the extent it was understood in that past age when it grew up and was clothed in the language and symbols of that age. For its context is different in a later age, the mental climate has changed, new social habits and customs have grown up, and it is often difficult to understand the sense, much less the spirit, of that ancient writing. Moreover, as Aurobindo Ghose has pointed out, every truth, however true in itself, yet taken apart from others which at once limit and complete it, becomes a snare to bind the intellect and a misleading dogma; for in reality each is one thread of a complex weft and no thread must be taken apart from the weft.

It is better to understand a part of truth and apply it to our lives, than to understand nothing at all and flounder helplessly in a vain attempt to pierce the mystery of existence. The applications of science are inevitable and unavoidable for all countries and peoples today. But something more than its application is necessary. It is the scientific approach, the adventurous and yet critical temper of science, the search for truth and new knowledge, the refusal to accept anything without testing and trial, the capacity to change previous conclusions in the face of new evidence, the reliance on observed fact and not

on preconceived theory, the hard discipline of the mind—all this is necessary, not merely for the application of science but for life itself and the solution of its many problems. Too many scientists today, who swear by science, forget all about it outside their particular spheres. The scientific approach and temper are, or should be, a way of life, a process of thinking, a method of acting and associating with our fellow-men. That is a large order and undoubtedly very few of us, if any at all, can function in this way with even partial success. But this criticism applies in equal or even greater measure to all the injunctions which philosophy and religion have laid upon us. The scientific temper points out the way along which man should travel. It is the temper of a free man. We live in a scientific age, so we are told, but there is little evidence of this temper in the people anywhere or even in their leaders.

Science deals with the domain of positive knowledge but the temper which it should produce goes beyond that domain. The ultimate purposes of man may be said to be to gain knowledge, to realize truth, to appreciate goodness and beauty. The scientific method of objective inquiry is not applicable to all these and much that is vital in life seems to lie beyond its scope—the sensitiveness to art and poetry, the emotion that beauty produces, the inner recognition of goodness. The botanist and zoologist may never experience the charm and beauty of nature; the sociologist may be wholly lacking in love for humanity. But even when we go to the regions beyond the reach of the scientific method and visit the mountain tops where philosophy dwells and high emotions fill us, or gaze at the immensity beyond, that approach and temper are still necessary.

As knowledge advances, the domain of religion, in the narrow sense of the word, shrinks. The more we understand life and nature, the less we look for super-

natural causes. Whatever we can understand and control ceases to be a mystery. The processes of agriculture, the food we eat, the clothes we wear, our social relations, were all at one time under the dominion of religion and its high priests. Gradually they have passed out of its control and become subjects for scientific study. Yet much of this is still powerfully affected by religious beliefs and the superstitions that accompany them. The final mysteries still remain far beyond the reach of the human mind and are likely to continue to remain so. But so many of life's mysteries are capable of and await solution that an obsession with the final mystery seems hardly necessary or justified. Life still offers not only the loveliness of the world but also the exciting adventure of fresh and never-ceasing discoveries, of new panoramas opening out and new ways of living, adding to its fullness and ever making it richer and more complete.

It is therefore with the temper and approach of science, allied to philosophy, and with reverence for all that lies beyond, that we must face life. Thus we may develop an integral vision of life which embraces in its wide scope the past and the present, with all their heights and depths and look with serenity towards the future. The depths are there and cannot be ignored, and always by the side of the loveliness that surrounds us is the misery of the world. Man's journey through life is an odd mixture of joy and sorrow; thus only can he learn and advance. The travail of the soul is a tragic and lonely business. External events and their consequences affect us powerfully, and yet the greatest shocks come to our minds through inner fears and conflicts. While we advance on the external plane, as we must if we are to survive, we have also to win peace with ourselves and between ourselves and our environment, a peace which brings satisfaction not only to our physical and material needs but also to those inner imaginative urges and

adventurous spirit that have distinguished man ever since he started on his troubled journey in the realms of thought and action. Whether that journey has any ultimate purpose or not we do not know, but it has its compensations, and it points to man a nearer objective which appears attainable and which may again become the starting point for a fresh advance.

The Discovery of India

5. THE FIVE YEAR PLAN — EMBODIMENT OF A NEW SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY

Our Economy and social structure have outlived their day and it has become a matter of urgent necessity that we should refashion them so that they might promote the happiness of all our people both in the material things of the world and in the domain of culture and the spirit. We have to aim deliberately at a social philosophy which seeks a fundamental transformation of the structure, a society which is not dominated by the urge of private profit and individual greed and where there is a distribution of political and economic power. We must aim at a classless society, based on cooperative effort, where there is opportunity for all. To realize this we have to pursue peaceful methods in a democratic way.

The Five Year Plan endeavours to embody the social philosophy to which I have made reference. Democratic planning means the utilization of all our available resources and, in particular, the maximum quantity of labour which is willingly given and rightly directed for the good of the community and the individual.

The Plan affects each one of you and in a democratic society, everyone should understand and help in fulfilling the tasks ahead. The Plan embraces the entire country and deals also separately with each part of it, the States

as well as the smaller local areas.

It offers also opportunities for voluntary organisations and voluntary workers to fulfil a vital and increasing role in national development. It has a public sector and a private sector, though even the latter has necessarily to have a measure of control so as to fit into the Plan. It endeavours to integrate various activities, agriculture, industry and social services. Agriculture is bound to continue to be our principal activity.

Therefore, the greatest stress is laid upon this, as it is only on the basis of prosperous agriculture that we can make industrial progress. But agriculture has to be fitted into the larger economy of the nation. The growth of industry, both big and small, is essential for any modern nation. Indeed, without industrial development there can be no higher standards for our people, no strength in the nation and perhaps not even our freedom can be preserved.

For the progress of agriculture as indeed for any kind of national progress, a proper land policy is basic. We have gone some way towards this by putting an end in many States to the zamindari and jagirdari systems. We must complete this task and eliminate all intermediaries in land, and put a ceiling on the holding of land. We hope that the next step will be cooperative farming which will take advantage of the latest technique in agriculture. Greater production is essential, both through agriculture and industry, if we are to fight poverty and raise standards as we must.

We are a peaceful nation and our policy and our economy are going to be based on methods of peace and the avoidance of exploitation in India or abroad. We want to develop, therefore, as far as possible, self-sufficiency in our country and a balanced economy in various parts of it. We want to work more particularly for the expansion of the home market, so that standards may go

up. In this development of self-sufficiency and in providing work and employment village and cottage industries have a supreme importance.

I shall mention a few of the targets we have laid down. First and foremost there is food. We must become self-sufficient in food and not have to go to other countries for our most essential requirements. The Plan raises food production by nearly 8m. tons. It is intended to provide new irrigation through major works to more than 8m. acres and through minor works to 11m. acres. Further, it is proposed to reclaim and develop more than 7m. acres of land. You know about our great river valley schemes, which in addition to irrigation, will supply over a million kilowatts of power for industry. Power is the essential foundation for development today. We have attached great importance to minor works of irrigation as they yield quicker and more widespread results all over the country.

Cotton production will be raised by over 12 lakh bales and jute by 20 lakh bales. It is proposed to increase handloom production from 800 to 1,700 million yards. In steel and cement, there will be substantial increase in production. At Sindri we have already a great fertilizer factory and at Chittaranjan, a locomotive factory. We are setting up a new steel plant, a machine tool factory and a plant for the manufacture of heavy electrical equipment.

You know about the many community centres that have been started all over the country. We attach great importance to these for here an attempt is made to train our men and women in rural areas in co-operative effort for the good of the community. Here, even more than elsewhere, there is room for voluntary effort.

We have high ideals, great objectives and, compared to them, the Five Year Plan appears to be a modest beginning. But, let us remember, that it is the first great

effort of this kind and that it is based not on our wishes but on the realities of today. It has to be related to our present resources or else it will be unreal. It is meant to be the foundation of bigger and better planning and progress in the future. Let us lay these foundations well and that future will inevitably follow. The Plan is not based on any dogmatic or doctrinaire approach to our problems; nor is it something rigid and inflexible. There is scope in it for advance along any line and for variation where such is considered necessary. As we learn from experience, we shall improve it. It is a dynamic plan for a dynamic nation, determined to go ahead and stand on its own feet and to bring about a new social order free from exploitation and poverty and unemployment and social injustice. It is a step towards the establishment of a society which gives security to the individual, employment and scope and encouragement for creative activity and adventure. Properly appreciated and acted upon, it will be a great liberating force for the energies of the nation.

The Plan is a big one embracing innumerable activities all over the country. But far bigger than this is the vision which draws us forward, a vision inspired by courage and hope and a reasoned optimism. Let us have faith in our country and ourselves. The Plan is essentially a programme of work. Let us work, therefore, and abandon for a while empty and destructive criticism. I invite all of you to become partners in this great enterprise of building a new India.

Broadcast Speech, 13-12-52

6. POLITICAL DEMOCRACY SHOULD LEAD TO ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY

Political democracy, if it is to have any meaning, must gradually, or, if you like, rapidly lead to

economic democracy. Without that, if there is great inequality in the country, all the political democracy and all the adult suffrage in the world does not bring about the real essence of democracy. Therefore your objective has to be the bringing about of more equality, and a more unitary society.

In other words, it has gradually to put an end to the various classes that subsist and ultimately develop into a classless society. That may be a little far off, I do not know. But you must keep that in view.

Now, it is clear that you cannot approach that by way of conflict and violence, so far as this country is concerned. We have achieved many things by way of peace and there is no particular reason why we should give that up and go into violent methods.

There is a very particular reason why we should not do so because I am quite convinced that, however high our ideals might be, and our objectives, if we try to solve them by methods of violence, it will delay matters very greatly, it will help the growth of the very evils that we are fighting against.

India is not only a big country, but a varied country, and if anyone takes to the sword, he will inevitably be met by the sword of someone else. Therefore it becomes a clash between swords, or violence, and all the limited energies of the nations are destroyed in that process, or greatly lessened.

Now, the method of peaceful progress is a method ultimately of democratic progress. But keeping in mind the ultimate aim of democratic thought, it is not enough for us to say that we have given votes to all and let the rest remain. The ultimate aim is economic democracy. The ultimate aim is putting an end to these great differences between the rich and the poor; the people who have opportunities and those who have none or very little. That must be kept in mind.

The Five Year Plan is indeed, in a sense, the first real attempt to achieve rapid progress on a democratic basis. This business of five-year plans began in Russia, where they had the First Five Year Plan and followed it up with another. It is not for me to praise or criticise other countries. I think we should not go about condemning any country. We should try to learn from other countries what is good and reject what is not good for us. I should like you to remember first of all that the Russian Plan came out of certain circumstances, a certain authoritarian system of Government which could impose its will on the people and the country paid a very heavy price for it. They are welcome to pay any price for it and there is no doubt that they have a very great achievement to their credit. But remember also that they had thirty-five years to do that and it is not fair to compare anything at the beginning with something which has been carried on for thirty-five years. But the main thing is that that was a system of planning on an authoritarian basis of society. Can we do that in a democratic way? That is the problem and for the first time in a big way, India is trying to answer that problem. Therefore the Five Year Plan is of historic significance not only to India but to other countries also. The whole system of democracy is, in a sense, on trial as to whether it can succeed in making rapid progress in the country!

In view of the fact that we function under a democratic set up which we have deliberately adopted and enshrined in our Constitution and in this Parliament, naturally any planning that takes place must be within that set-up and no Planning Commission has any right to go about producing something which has no relation to our Constitution or the set-up under which we are functioning.

Now, that puts certain self-imposed limitations on a plan, but I would like to say that those limitations are

not final limitations. And I do not think it would be right to say that democratic functioning necessarily puts any limitations at all. It may make the way a little more difficult; the procedure adopted may be a little more complicated. But a democratic set-up, properly worked, should permit of anything that we desire to be done.

And, possibly, that, I suppose, is the justification of that democratic set-up, apart from other justifications, that what it does, even though it might take a little more time, it does perhaps build on more firm foundation and in particular, it builds on a foundation of an individual, and not entirely forgetting the individual.

We have already determined the methods and we are working along the methods—that is the general democratic approach to this problem. Although this is so, I wish to make it perfectly clear what our conception of democracy is. It is not limited to political democracy. We do not think that democracy means, as is sometimes said in some other countries, what is called *laissez faire* doctrine in economics. That doctrine may remain in some people's mind still. But as a matter of fact it is almost as dead as the nineteenth century which produced it—dead even in the countries where people talk about it most. It is totally unsuited to the conditions in the world today. In any event, so far as we in India are concerned, we reject it completely. We are not going to have anything to do with it. That does not mean, of course, that the State is taking charge of everything. The State is not, because we have a public sector and a private sector. But, as I said, the private sector itself, which we wish to encourage, must fit in with controlled economy. In that sense its freedom of enterprise will be somewhat limited.

This Plan—I am not going into figures—provides for two thousand and odd crores of rupees—about several

hundred crores more than provided for in the draft Plan. There is a big gap between the estimate of our resources and the Rs. 2,000 crores. It is hoped that we may be able perhaps to find more resources. We may get some help from outside. We have got some already. Some members have occasionally expressed their fear that this help from outside may interfere with our freedom, as to what we should do and should not do in this country. Well it is perfectly true that when in any matter one depends upon an outside authority, to that extent there is a risk. If we depend on outside authorities, let us say, to supply us with weapons of war for our army, well, to some extent, there is risk—whatever it may be. If we depend for our economic advancement on other countries, well, we are depending on them. And I am quite clear in my own mind that I would rather that our advance was lower than we become independent on the aid of other countries.

Having said that, I really do not see why we should be afraid, provided we are strong enough ourselves, of taking this type of aid from other countries which obviously help us to go more rapidly ahead. There are so many things which we could do with that aid which we have to postpone without that aid. On the one hand, there is a slight risk, not a risk of being tied down, but if you like to put it, a slight moral risk, or whatever risk you like to call it. On the other hand, it is for us, for this Parliament, for this country to be quite clear of what it wants to do and not allow ourselves to be pushed this way and that way. After all almost every country has gone ahead with help in various ways from other countries in the past and I do not see any reason why we should prefer not to take aid, even though that aid does not influence our policy or our activities in the slightest.

We are not out merely to get more money and more production. We want not merely more production

but ultimately we want better human beings in this country with greater opportunities not only economic and the rest but at other levels also.

We have seen in other countries that economic growth by itself does not necessarily mean human growth, does not necessarily mean national growth. So, we have to keep this particular picture in view and not think that the growth of the nation comes merely from the shouting that takes place in the market places and the stock exchanges of the country.

So, to balance all these, to produce some kind of integrated plan for the economic growth of the country, for the growth of the individual, for greater opportunities to every individual, for the greater freedom of the country, you have to do all this within the framework of political democracy. Political democracy, ultimately of course, will only justify itself or be justified if it succeeds in producing these results.

If it does not, political democracy will yield place to some other form of economic or social structure, doesn't matter how much any of us like it or not. Ultimately, it is results that will decide the fate of what structure we may adopt in this country or in any country of the world. When we talk of political democracy we must remember that it is ceasing to have that particular significance which it had in the 19th century.

Speech in Parliament, 15-12-52

7. HARD WORK—ONLY KEY TO PROSPERITY

There is a time for work and there is a time for play, just as there is a time for laughter and there is a time for tears. And today is the time for work in this nation. For, this generation of ours, if I may say so, is condemned to hard labour. You cannot get out of it,

however you may want to. We are all condemned to hard labour. But, then, it makes all the difference what kind of labour we do, in what spirit we approach it. If it is labour, good work, then that is an uplifting thing, an exhilarating thing, a strengthening thing. It does not matter how hard you work. People come and tell me, do not work so hard, you do not sleep enough. As if that counts! What counts is something entirely different. No man ever died of hard work, if he is working in a good cause, if his spirit is in it, but people do die of ennui and other things. So you and I have got to work.

Convocation Address, Lucknow 'Varsity 28-1-49

There were often quarrels as to whether they should have socialism, or Gandhism or Communism or some other ism. If there were constant strifes over such isms they could not possibly properly devote themselves to the urgent work of reconstruction. India had no quarrel with any country which might go in for Communism as a principle. India as a matter of fact also did not want that there should be so much difference between the highest and lowest income groups. It was possibly unavoidable that there should be some difference but what they must ensure was that everybody got his requirements.

It is a dangerous thing to assume that whatever we are doing is enough. To my mind, complacency is a dangerous thing—the person who is complacent naturally falls out of the race. I want that we should be impatient, and dissatisfied with the pace of our progress, so that we always have the desire to increase the tempo of our work. But we must also remember that we have to change this impatience into activity and not froth and foam as many people are tending to do these days.

The USA is a rich country. It has attained its position by developing its resources, by the application of science. Thirty to forty years ago Russia was a poor country, but it has since greatly advanced because the

people there had worked hard and unitedly. Germany and Japan were devastated during World War II. Many cities in those countries were reduced to rubble, but the people there are working hard and rebuilding their countries beyond recognition.

India has got to learn from other countries but she should not be carried away by slogans and run after every fresh breeze. We must keep our feet on our own soil. The greatest problem before the country is to increase national wealth in a welfare state, which is India's ideal; there would be less and less unemployment and ultimately complete employment. In order to achieve it they required hard work and co-operation of all. More and more factories and workshops are to be established in the country to increase the wealth.

Every one here wants service, preferably Government service. Government service is good. Do it. But, not even ten percent of people who come of age for employment every year can be absorbed in Government service since Government servants do not produce wealth even though they do useful work. In our country, every one is an administrator whether in Government or not. Administrators should, however, also be workers.

It was very harmful for the old aversion to manual labour to continue poisoning the minds of the young. I have often raised my voice against this tendency of considering manual labour as low and degrading because such a mentality is utterly useless. Day by day, manual labour is being more and more honoured all over. That man gets the laurels most now who works with his hands, because no country today could prosper where manual labour was looked down upon or despised. So, our young men who get specialised education in any profession should learn to use their hands and take pride in doing so."

For building up a healthy nation manual labour is desirable and necessary. You can do your exercise. You

can play your games. All that is very good. But obviously the best way of exercising yourself is by creating something in the process so that the exercise brings achievement—not merely with dumbbells as in the old way. In exercising yourself this way, you build something, you create something, you get exercise and you get a sense of achievement and you are mentally and physically the better.

Speeches at New Delhi, 6-1-52; Calcutta, 13-12-53; Jamshedpur, 22-2-53; Roorkee, 12-4-53; Lucknow, 17-7-53 and Madras, 3-10-53

We have to face pretty hard problems today. Let us not deceive one another. We have to face very difficult problems, and we have to lift ourselves up, almost rise up, rise up from our boot straps in many ways. You are not going to get gold and money and silver from other countries. We have to produce it ourselves. How do you produce it, by *hartals* and the like? How are you going to increase wages and salaries and the rest, as we want to? Where is the money to come from? Where does the money come from? It comes from taxation, your pockets and nobody else's. It is a very simple proposition. Sit down and think it out.

A nation does not die. Men and women come and go, but the nation goes on. It has something of the eternal about it. And India certainly is that type of nation which has something of eternity behind it, in its ideas and in its growth, and even in its decay. So we shall pass, and the burden that we have carried, adequately or not, will fall on other shoulders. What are those shoulders?

Let us not waste our time in mutual praises and embracings when work has to be done.

Convocation Address, Lucknow 'Varsity, 28-1-49

8. THE RESPONSIBILITY OF YOUTH IN NEW INDIA

Young men of today are the leaders of tomorrow. The youth of India should be prepared for shouldering their responsibilities of leading the country along the path of progress and prosperity. They should develop creativeness of mind, daring spirit, originality and quality and character. A spirit of mental adventure, sharpness of mind and some kind of purpose of direction were necessary for the youth of today to become a competent and worthy citizen of tomorrow. These are the things with whose help we will be able to build up bit by bit a magnificent India. After all, the future of our country depends upon the quality of the young men and women we produce. A nation is judged by the quality of men it possesses and not the quantity. Brave men alone can make a country great and not the wealth that it may possess. I wander about all over the country in search of faces of those who would come after the present generation leadership, and be in charge of the country's affairs. Sometimes I am encouraged by impressions that some people give, but quite often I feel despondent.

The "Himalayan Task" of rebuilding a nation of thirty-five crores cannot be undertaken in mere academic manner. Nothing short of hard labour could help solve the various problems facing the country today. People who talk a lot about the progress which certain countries have achieved within a short period, do not realise that these creditable achievements are the result of continuous work and hard labour. Indians, on the other hand, talk much and do little. The time has now come when this tendency must be given up. Gandhiji had assigned small constructive works to the nation. Such work, though apparently small, has real educative value and prepare people to perform greater tasks in life. It is a matter of extreme regret and pain that those who feed themselves

upon others are held in esteem in this country, while those who do useful practical work are looked down upon.

The youth of India should take a lesson from the example of countries like Germany and Japan which had been devastated during the last war. Their remarkable recovery after the war has been entirely due to their habits of hard labour. Young men should do some constructive work every day.

In every form of government trained men will be required to handle special jobs. Students should prepare themselves adequately to take up such responsibilities. They should also try to understand the various national and international problems in the context of the fast changing conditions, and not to shut their minds against new questions which arise in the daily life of men. While students of engineering, medicine, law and other branches of science have to go through long courses of education, no such study, they seem to think, is required of young men to become politicians. This tendency is very dangerous, because politicians have to deal with complicated problems of human beings.

I value enthusiasm of youth, but intelligent understanding is absolutely necessary to carry on useful and good work. It pains me to see how student organisations in the country waste most of their time in passing lengthy resolutions and engaging themselves in petty quarrels. Young men must discard all narrow outlook and feelings. Narrowness of vision is most inconsistent with the rapidly changing world today, and if Indians want to raise the people from the depths to which they have fallen, then they have to look at problems with an open mind.

It is regrettable that manual labour have not yet secured its deserved place in the Indian educational system. Even in a rich country like America I have seen a three-storeyed hostel built by the university students

with their own labour, which they have contributed for one or two hours a day according to their convenience, without neglecting their studies. It is an example worth following, and in doing so, the Indian students would learn something vital and would also experience the joy of creation.

Speeches at Banaras, 23-11-52; Allahabad, 24-11-52; Gwalior, 1-12-52; and Bombay, 5-12-52

I should think that a part of your training, when you are in college, should be outside the university. That is, you must work with the people to some extent, not in a superior or patronising way. I think you learn more about the economics of India by living for sometime in an Indian village and trying to do things by yourselves than by reading books. In that way, I think, it is essential that your intellectual training should be tied up with this kind of service. I am quite convinced that every human being should do manual labour to some extent. The idea that manual labour is degrading, is absurd. But apart from that, to understand life, part of your education should be thrown with these people. You should do work in slums and not pretend to be superior beings.

Speech at Madras, 9-10-52

Students come to me and say, "Are we to take part in politics or not?" I say, of course, always. But what is politics? It is an astounding conception of politics to go up and down the street in a procession. You just cannot get out of the habit of the days of British rule. When a crisis comes in the life of a country, as the great war came in the life of the western countries, well, almost every student above a certain age, whether at Oxford, or Cambridge, or London, or other Universities, volunteered or was conscripted, and had to go to the war. He had to leave his college, had to fight for his country and for his people. Whether it was an English-

man, or Frenchman, or German, they were all conscripted to fight for the life of their country.

For India fighting for freedom I can conceive a crisis coming, and the colleges closing and the students going out and all that. But that is during a period of crisis and peril for the nation's freedom. If that pattern of behaviour becomes continual, a sort of picture for people to copy, well, of course, whatever good that activity may result in, those people who indulge in it are not training themselves for any future activity of any value. Obviously not, because India is going to be run by a large number of trained people in future and ultimately, as everywhere else, by a relatively small number of A class men in technology and science. Ultimately, a country's standing in the world is obviously judged not by the number of people it has but by the number of top-ranking men and women it has, who show results, who can give a proper lead; and also by the number of other eminent men it has to carry on the work of a large country. It is a certain quality that counts in the end, not quantity, although quantity also is necessary in a certain measure. Do you realize that out of you are going to come or ought to come those top-ranking men and women? But if education is looked upon as a time for demonstration—unless the nation is in peril and everything has to be set aside—then you do not get prepared for the future.

It just amazes me when a number of students come to me and talk casually that they thought they ought to have been members of the University Commission in order to place their demands before them. They are always talking about demands. Now, there is such a thing as India also having some demands upon you. You seem to have forgotten that. And I think it is about time that you remembered the demands upon you in terms of your gratitude, of your duty and work and hard labour. There are too few people in India who think of this and work hard

to that end. Everybody has demands, everybody has objections, everybody has criticisms and everybody thinks that possibly if his demands were met everything would be all right, forgetting that the meeting of his demands means making somebody else give up his demands, because demands clash.

Convocation Address, Lucknow 'Varsity, 28-1-49

While education paves the way for the future life and growth of students they needed something more than only study of books. They had to think in terms of an integrated development which would help solve the various problems. We cannot solve our problems by raising slogans or passing resolutions.

The colleges and universities only opened the doors for your future life. You should train your mind and body in this formation period of your lives and also understand the various problems facing the country. You must remember that it is the quality, and not quantity on which the progress of a country depends.

Whatever vocation you may choose you have to learn for a number of years and then start a career. So it is most essential for you to train yourselves in the proper way. You have to realise that in the educational institutions a foundation of learning is laid and after that you have to study yourselves.

Speech at Allahabad, 19-7-53

Who else would take the control of India if not the youths and the children. The youths of today who are now in schools and colleges are to take charge of India tomorrow. The children of today would be the administrators of India of day after tomorrow. Therefore, whenever I look at the youths and children I try to see if this sense of responsibility is reflected in their eyes. Are you equipping yourselves mentally and physically to take up this huge task? When the great French Revolution took place there was the cry who was to take charge of

the wild horse that liberated France. India is passing through a revolution and the question is who is to take charge of the newly liberated elephant. It is not an easy matter. It requires fearlessness, determination and intelligence. Even for a small job they require a great deal of preparation. Are you really preparing yourselves for the great job of running the affairs of India? The youths must be clear in their minds about what they are doing now and about what the future expects of them. They cannot just roam about in a blind alley like a blind man and dash against the walls. Quarrels and conflicts over 'isms' would lead them to blind alleys. Interested persons to serve their own ends might give them hoax or might bluff them and lead them to the paths of conflict. But the strength of the country depends not so much upon which 'ism' they accept as upon the character of the individuals constituting the country.

Speech at Calcutta, 13-12-53

S. RADHAKRISHNAN

1. DEMOCRACY AND INDIA

Our Constitution lays down the basic principles of a society of free men and that Constitution is in consonance with the fundamental principles of civilisation and of every kind of culture. We have said very early in our history that the human being must be regarded not merely as a body but as a mind, as a spirit. We made out that it is not fair for us to look upon the human being as merely an animal determined entirely by the biological bias, but that he is an unfinished animal which is yet to grow and that growth is to be fashioned by planning, by the exercise of individual freedom. When the Upanishads proclaimed: That art Thou (*Tat tvam asi*) they made out that every individual is a part of the spirit. He is the off-spring of the divine that is in him, and has the highest divine possibilities. When the Buddha told us every man can become an Arhat or, according to Mahayana, every man can become a Bodhisatva, he was again affirming the great spiritual possibilities of human nature. When again Jesus said that the Kingdom of God is within you, He pointed out to us that there are certain things in human nature which cannot be merely calculated upon or measured out. For centuries the words of these ancient scriptures had worn smooth in our mouths. We had forgotten their meaning and significance. These words must take shape again, acquire meaning and inspire our daily life. Man is not to be regarded as someone to be assembled on a mechanical plan, he has a spirit deep and mysterious. A knowledge of that spirit is the highest destiny so far as human

beings are concerned. There is nothing higher than the acquisition of our soul. If in the pursuit of power, prestige, self, etc. you sacrifice yourselves, you become destroyers of yourselves. Therefore, it follows that the individual must regard himself as destined for a spiritual freedom and capable of exercising great freedom. So the pupils and the teachers must grow up in an atmosphere of absolute freedom if the best in them is to be brought out. The moment you feel that you are free, you are bound to respect the freedom of others. You must recognise that just as you want freedom, other people also wish to have freedom and there is no use your trying to acquire freedom at the expense of other people. That is the first principle of democracy.

The second principle of democracy is this. It is true that there is no democracy without the freedom of the human spirit, but when fear, hunger and unemployment stare us in the face, what chance have we of developing into free human beings? These are as essential for the development of the human soul as the mere assertion of need for human freedom. Those who care for the freedom of others as well as their own freedom must try to break down the systems which have come down to us, systems which remind us to see in their very framework bigotry, intolerance, exploitation and injustice. Man's hunger and poverty and the prolonged unemployment of intellectuals are the greatest allies of all subversive movements. Decent men cannot acquiesce in a life of poverty and misery that could be prevented, in evils that could be removed. These evils are the greater dangers since they do not kill but corrupt men. It is for the Universities to give us a social conscience. When wickedness gets organised into the framework of society, when it takes the shape of bigotries of faith, injustices of caste and evils of landlordism, it is the duty of University men to protest. Our Constitution may

lay down principles of human equality and brotherhood but to implement them, to make them prevail, there must be adequate public opinion. We require for this an emotional awareness of the problems. Many of the social and political evils of the world arise out of the absence of imaginative feeling and sympathy. Truly a human being is one who not only cares for freedom for himself but will suffer and rage to secure equal freedom for others also. That is another demand, another implication of this first principle that every human being has got the power in him to grow to the highest; and a satisfactory system of society must provide man with the material comforts essential for enabling him to grow into a truly human being.

At the present moment there is a prevailing fashion of pessimism, of a sense of futility, that we have merely to await the issue of events and anything may happen. That again is being disloyal to the fundamental principle that a human individual can master his environment, that a human agent is really independent. We hear on all sides criticisms of Government, and talk of the corruption of certain officials and of the dishonesty of certain trading classes. People turn to us and say: we have had freedom for these five years, what is it that we have seen? Have we seen very much of improvement in our conditions? There may not be that same enthusiasm which we had when we were in the opposition. All that may be so, but it is no use concentrating on a few details which have gone wrong. You must take a view of overall conditions in our country. People imagined that when freedom came, this country would drift into chaos and anarchy and would break up into one hundred States and we would repeat the conditions which occur today in the Balkans. That has been prevented. There has been no relapse into any kind of chaos. Our country is more or less free from communal disorder and there

is greater security of life and property. To the extent to which I have touched the Government of this country, I may say without any hesitation that in these five years we have attained a position in the international world which is distinctly to our credit. There is concentration of hope on what India is likely to do. She is the one great country which has attempted to be really, genuinely independent, the one country which is able to bear witness to the truth as she sees it without yielding to any kind of economic or political pressures. Now and again she may be with the Western democracies, now and again she may be with the Communist bloc, but on whichever side she may be, she is not there because other people expect her to be there. She is there because she thinks that that is the way in which the future peace of the world could be safely built. I am merely pointing out to you that though there are matters of the greatest concern there is no need for despair. There is enough in our country to give us encouragement. It is the one country where there is today greater liberty of speech than anywhere else. You can get up and say: this Government must go. But there are countries where you cannot open your mouth and assert that; there are countries which deny freedom in the name of freedom; there are other countries which deny freedom in the name of discipline and authority. But here is a country where you can stand up and say whatever you feel without any fear that you are going to be punished for expressing your inmost convictions.

But though we have made great improvements so far as our conditions are concerned, the demands are greater. The pace, some of us may feel, is not sufficiently rapid. But to achieve all these essentials you must all help to build up a better India. The complaints that are made seem petty and pitiful against the prospects of a new great India to which even the world looks for

some kind of sustenance.

I appeal to you, young men and women, that this is not the time for criticism. It is the time for bold courageous action. I visited the other day some countries of Europe. I saw there the bold enthusiasm, the pride of work. Countries which were devastated and ruined as a result of the last war, are building themselves up into a great position by hard work. Work is wealth. Whether it is digging wells or making roads or keeping your house clean or teaching your neighbour, whatever that work may be, if you make a contribution to it, you will certainly be able to contribute to the upbuilding of this country.

These are principles which come out of that one great statement: the human individual is a free being, the human individual can assert the spirit of man, and that spirit will prevail over all obstacles which we can conceive. When I say that the human individual is a free being, I mean also that you must respect the equal freedom of others. The pattern of society which our Constitution lays down is a pattern which requires us to respect ourselves and to respect others. Whether it is racial or religious, it is not homogeneous society, but what I call a harmonious society. We must work not for homogeneity and uniformity but for harmony and unity. From the beginning of our history down till today we have had a great tradition which calls upon us to respect the convictions of other people. We recognise the absolute supremacy of religious life, at the same time we admit the relativity of all creeds. Our religious tradition has stressed the great facts of religious experience, their close resemblance under diverse shapes of race and time, attesting to the persistent unity of the human spirit. While spiritual life is paramount, the way to attain it is optional. So the One is called by many names. Today we have a secular State in this

country. All that we mean is that we are intrinsically religious, but we don't emphasise particular ways; the State is not associated with any particular way of reaching the highest kind of spiritual realisation.

If, therefore, you take your stand on these fundamental principles, you must give freedom to academic institutions, you must respect the freedom of others. You must as rapidly as possible build up a truly secular State where all individuals will be free to think, act and pray as they may please, and you must also develop respect for other religions. The duty of intellectuals is to carry these things to the homes of people. Laws can lay down ideals. To implement the ideals there must be adequate public opinion and that adequate public opinion can be brought about only by young men and women, who feel that enthusiasm, who feel that pride. It is such people that Universities must produce. They must have no kind of fear or cowardice and they must go about saying, here is the great cause for India and that means a cause for humanity.

Convocation Address, Allahabad 'Varsity, 13-12-52

2. NEED TO DEVELOP GREAT QUALITIES

In the present tormented world of strife and dissension, nations needed great qualities to make them truly great and proper harnessing of these qualities to higher values. These qualities are a vision among their leaders that they are serving a cause greater than their own, a human sense of brotherhood and a buoyant hope for the future which will get all people together.

When we were in the opposition we were very greatly critical of the administration. When we get into office we do not show the qualities which are essential for a free life. We do not show the same enthusiasm, the same

revolutionary fervour. We are revolutionaries in opposition and conservatives and reactionaries in office. If the ambitions of young men are to be fulfilled, radical social and economic changes will have to be brought about speedily.

In ancient times an Egyptian priest met a Greek thinker, Solo, and told him: "You Greeks, you are always young." What he meant was: "While we Egyptians are antiques and refer to our scriptures we are not able to answer the problems. We look to the past. We look towards the back, to ancient texts and authorities. You Greeks do not suffer from this presence of the past." He meant the Greek spirit was one of reason, one of adventure, one of looking forward to, while the Egyptian spirit was one of looking back, one of quoting texts and one of looking to precedents.

So if the young people of our country are to be filled with the spirit of youth, the leaders of the country have also to be filled with that spirit of youth—that spirit of adventure. And this spirit can grow in universities. Our universities can fulfil this need if they stimulate leadership and tackle problems. We look upon the Divine as Truth and our response to Truth should be an integrity of mind so complete that it is prepared to abandon cherished convictions if they turn out to be untrue. The university must be made a live organisation.

You must develop sufficient physical stamina among the youth and rise in the scale of nations. But I do not say adequately because there is a good deal to be done. I am anxious that more and more attention should be paid to these sides also, so that the youth of the country will develop physical strength which will produce in them moral courage also.

The next important thing which the university is expected to do is to supply technical personnel necessary for the building up of the country. It must stimulate

intellectual variety and impulse.

It is essential that universities must progress to such an extent as to be able to supply all the needs which we have for the building up of our country. More than imparting of knowledge or the imparting of technical skill, than all that is the need to foster independence of judgment, foster integrity of mind.

We look upon the Divine as Truth. Our motto is, Truth alone conquers, not untruth. We call the Supreme *Satya Narayana*, *Satya Swarupa*. We make Him the embodiment of Truth. If the Divine is Truth, the response which is needed from us to that Divine is such an integrity of mind that will not accept our most cherished convictions if they happen to be untrue. In schools, colleges and universities it must be our duty to develop what I would call independence of thinking. Many of you will have read *Bhagvad Gita*. You have there a conversation between a teacher and a pupil. The teacher is giving instructions. The pupil approaches him saying: "I am confused. In such a kind of situation have I approached you for advice." What does the teacher say? Leave the student alone, he will know for himself. No. Nor does he say "This is the truth, accept it." What he says is, "I will tell you what I know about it and the rest depends on you." He winds up saying "This is what I know but *Yatha Ichchasi, Tatha Kuru*. As you choose, so you do."

In other words, he must say with his mind and not with his conscience, must not take the teacher's view as his own to be dominated by the opinion which the teacher gives but must exercise his own judgment and come to an independent conclusion.

To think for oneself is a duty which no man can avoid and if you wish to be worthy citizens of new India, it is essential for you to adopt that kind of attitude, an attitude of independence of thinking, integrity of

judgment, see it with your mind, speak it with your conscience and do not accept what other people say simply because other people tell you that. There is a great saying of Buddha, "Test what I say with logic and life, do not accept it because I tell you, not on account of regard for me but by examining what I say. Then accept whatever appeals to your mind and conscience."

Was not Germany mighty industrially? Was she not scientifically greatly advanced? Have not her scientists penetrated into the secrets of the nature and contributed wonderful achievements for the progress of science? Have they not the qualities of loyalty and discipline on which we lay so much stress?

But in spite of all these things, in spite of military might, industrial power, intellectual penetration and qualities of loyalty and discipline, she came down. It is because the higher values to which these qualities were harnessed were not theirs.

That is the quality of vision, a quality of sense of brotherhood and a buoyant hope for the future to get away from narrow loyalties and concentrate on the Supreme Unseen whose physical embodiment on earth is humanity. When a leader lacks in this quality of ambition, he lacks in leadership. Leadership is nothing more than this quality of vision. It is passing beyond the insanities of temporary life and trying to concentrate our vision on the greatness of spirit, on the human sense of brotherhood, on a vision of the future which will get all people together.

Real is one. It may be worshipped in many different ways. Kabir, a great 15th century apostle of Hindu-Muslim brotherhood, told us the Hindu thinks his God lives in Banaras. The Muslim thinks his God lives at Mecca but the true God does not live in a city made by human hands. He lives everywhere. He lives in the whole world. That was the message he gave to us. That

is the message we have to proclaim to the world today when there are conflicting ideologies.

Here is a nation which is on the threshold of a new life. It is faced by so many problems of different character, national and international. There is no country in the world today which does not suffer from peril of external invasion or internal incompetence, graft and greed. There are people who wish to administer looking upon public offices not as trust for the people but as a source of profit for the individuals. Their calculations do not go beyond careers. It is not possible to build a great country with little men.

It is essential, therefore, that we must grow great men if our country is to become a great country. It is no use trying to build on feelings of bitterness. We must not spoil the hopes of the future with the hatred of the past. It is essential for us to overlook the past, look ahead to the future, and see to it that all people of the various communities, races and religions have a sense of goodwill, a sense of confidence for one supreme vision to make the State worthy of the great future which they envisage. A great future which is not so much antagonistic to the past but which brings out the periods when the past itself was essentially great.

Minds and hearts of the people require to be altered. We must strive to become democratic not merely in the political sense of the term but also in the social and economic sense. It is essential to bring about this democratic change, this democratic temper, this kind of outlook by a proper study of humanities including philosophy and religion. There is a great verse which says that in this poison tree of 'Samsara' are two fruits of incomparable value. They are the enjoyment of great books and the company of good souls. If you want to absorb the fruits of great literature, well, you must read them, read them not as we do cricket stories but read

them with concentration. Our generation in its rapid travel has not achieved the habit of reading the great books and has lost the habit of being influenced by the great classics of our country. If these principles of democracy in our Constitution are to become habits of mind and patterns of behaviour, principles which change the very character of the individual and the nature of the society, it can be done by the study of great literature, of philosophy and religion. That is why even though our country needs great scientists, great technologists, great engineers, we should not neglect to make them humanists. While we retain science and technology, we must remember that science and technology are not all. We must note the famous statement that merely by becoming literate without the development of compassion, we become demoniac. So no university can regard itself as a true university unless it sends out young men and women who are not only learned but whose hearts are full of compassion for suffering humanity. Unless that is there, the university education must be regarded as incomplete.

It hurts me very deeply when I find that the precious years during which a student has to live in the university are wasted by some of them. I do not say by all of them. Teachers and students form a family and in a family you cannot find the spirit of trade union. Such a thing should be inconceivable in a university. The university life is a co-operative enterprise between teachers and students and I do hope that the students will not do a disservice to themselves by resorting to activities which are anti-social in character.

Character is destiny. Character is that on which the destiny of a nation is built. One cannot have a great nation with men of small character. If we want to build a great nation, we must train young men and women who have character. We must have young men and women who look upon others as the living images of themselves

as our *Shastras* have so often declared. But whether in public life or in a student life, we cannot reach great heights if we are lacking in character. We cannot climb the mountain when the very ground at our feet is crumbling. When the very basis of our structure is shaky, how can we reach the heights which we have set before ourselves? We must all have humility. Here is a country which we are interested in building up. For whatever service you take up, you should not care for what you receive. You should ask how much you can put into that service. That should be the principle which should animate our young men and women. Yours is a great country. You have had for centuries a great history. The whole of the East reflects the Indian culture. You have to represent what India has thought right from the time of Mohenjodaro and Harappa down to the time of Ramakrishna and Mahatma Gandhi. Whether in domestic affairs or in international affairs, we must adhere to certain standards. My one advice to the young men and women who are graduating today through this university is, Mother India expects of you that your lives should be clean, noble and dedicated to selfless work.

*Convocation Addresses at Jammu & Kashmir and Karnatak
'Varsities, 18-8-52 and 26-10-53*

VINOBA BHAVE

1. SWARAJ MEANS RESPONSIBILITY

From time immemorial we have conceived *Bharata-varsha* as one country. But from the Ashokan days until today there had been no unitary government in this country. Even then *Bharat* has been one culturally and spiritually. Even in the days of Ashoka, India was not one, because, if I remember aright, the Pandyas in the South remained as a separate sovereign entity. Today India has become politically united for the first time. Ashoka reigned wide and far in this country, but that was only nominal; because the methods of government of those days were different from those of today and, therefore, effective rule could not be enforced over wide areas as now. Today an order issued from Delhi comes into force throughout the country from the very next day. But in those days, it would have taken many years, not to speak of days.

Now that our country has become one, great responsibilities have devolved on us. We need not be afraid of them, but we should be careful about them. The unification of our great country under one government is a great event in the history of the world. Our country is almost a continent—a Federation of many units.

What is the significance of Swaraj? It means that responsibility has fallen on our own shoulders. The initiative which was denied to us so far has now come to us. Freedom connotes power to initiate acts. During slavery we could not determine our *dharma* (duty) for ourselves. This freedom has now been restored to us. What a tragedy it would be if at the moment of our

coming to our own and recovering our strength, we throw ourselves down as finished and exhausted! It would mean still-birth, the extinction of life at the moment when it should begin to live by itself. This is erroneous thinking. Some of us, however, have fallen into it.

There is a reference in the Gita of the manner of a *yogi's* death. At the hour of parting the *yogi* pierces darkness and concentrates his attention upon the rising sun. To the *yogi* the hour of death is the hour of awakening. Our country is in the same condition today. It is the twilight period when the old tattered social system has to be cast off and replaced by a new rising one. Those who will not awake now will lose what they have gained and be plunged into deeper darkness than before. The people must, therefore, shake themselves up into wakefulness and begin to be active.

We are a country of many provincial and sub-provincial distinctions. Therefore the lesson we should take is that in a big country like ours, whatever may be our distinguishing characteristics, *inter se*, we must turn them to our advantage. They can be used as much for our disadvantage as for our advantage. We can benefit from what is good in the various provinces, languages and castes or we can start quarrels over such differences. In order to reap benefit, we must spread goodwill among ourselves. We must love one another as brothers and sisters. Then only can we sing aloud: *Vande Mataram*. For this, we must understand the distinction between the body and the soul; then we shall take the inner meaning of things, ignoring the outward differences.

For maintaining our country's freedom every one must do some productive physical labour. Without that, the burden will fall on a few and there will be no peace in the country. We know that our country has been impoverished on account of foreign subjugation during the last 150 or 200 years. We have lost our

occupations. Our lands have become exhausted. The area of agricultural land *per capita* is very little. Unless therefore, every one works and produces, there cannot be peace and happiness in the country.

There was a shortage of goods of almost every description; *e.g.* cow-milk, food-grains, fruits, cloth etc. There was only one way to solve this problem. Everyone should participate in production whatever his profession may be. No plan, however well-intentioned, and designed it may be, could succeed unless it was one in which the entire nation could take part. If it failed to enlist popular co-operation, it was fated to be a paper plan only. In the context of the present shortage of goods it was the duty of one and all to produce something, be he a student or a professor, a merchant or a buyer. For this reason, Gandhiji had placed before the nation the programme of *charkha*, in which everyone, even children and old men, could take part. But the *charkha* did not exclude other types of work; *e.g.*, digging, grinding, gardening etc. Those who could do that were welcome to do so.

God has created us with brain, hands and also hunger. If He had desired that only a few persons should produce things and others should do only intellectual work, he would have given only brains to some and only hands to others. For He is omnipotent. But He has not done so. He has given hunger to all and so also hands. It is, therefore, against His will that some persons should do only intellectual work like reading, writing, etc., and the rest merely the physical labour of production. When our country is faced with the problem of all-round shortage, it is obligatory on all to do some sort of physical labour and take part in the production of one thing or another of men's daily requirements.

Harijan, 15-1-50, 23-12-50, 16-2-52

2. TWO ROADS TO CHOOSE FROM

Development of virtue and construction of a social order are the two extreme and fundamental creeds which have exercised man's mind from the beginning of time, regarding the end and aim of man's activities. The advocates of the first doctrine maintain that life and the welfare of society depend on man's character, his moral qualities, and his effort at self-improvement. An individual's life is driven under the force of his moral nature. The social structure changes its form along with the development of human character. Hence, all lovers of good should concentrate their attention on the development of moral qualities. Laborious activity for constructing society (externally) serves no useful purpose. It leads merely to egoism, *Jagadvyapaara-varjam* (control of world-forces excepted) — is a well-known *sutra* (maxim) of Vedanta, and it marks the limit to which a devotee might aspire to rise. All that we must do is to ever strengthen our faith in the rules of spiritual and moral discipline, such as non-violence, truth, self-control, contentment, co-operation etc., and try to incessantly translate these in our day-to-day life. Let us do this and all else 'will be added unto it'. No mother needs to be told that she should feed her child. No child needs to be told that it should cry if it is hurt. Given the necessary parental love, the child will be fed, given the hurt, crying will follow.

The creed and ideology of the Communists is the very opposite of this. They hold: "What you call the development of moral virtues is a set of phenomena, which though they become manifest in the mind are not, however, the creation of the mind, but are the result of environments. The mind itself is the product of its material environment. *Bhautikam chittam* (mind is a product of matter). A child gets afraid at the sight

of a bearded man, because the mother has no whiskers. Had the mother been moustached and bearded, the child would probably have got afraid at the sight of a clean-shaved person. You say that the child cries naturally (inevitably) on being hurt. But prick a pin and pain will follow equally naturally. Mind is not a substance independent of matter. It is just a reflection of the world outside—an image. An image cannot govern the substance, it is the latter which governs the former. If you bring about a change in the substance, the mind will reflect the change, that is, will seem to have changed in character. Sound sleep at night makes for a cheerful waking in the morning, and brings about the emergence of *sattava guna*, the condition for the manifestation of clarity and knowledge. After a while, when the person feels hungry, *rajas*, the dynamic quality, comes to the surface and throws the mind into a state of brisk activity. And after the meal, the quality of *tamas*, lethargy, becomes supreme. It is unnecessary, therefore, to give so much importance to the three qualities. Create the right conditions and they will inevitably give rise to the right set of qualities. Hence, change the material environments as rapidly as you can and by whatever means available, and do not waste your time vainly in weaving fantasies. The mind of man will remain what it is. Do what you will, it will neither become like that of a lower animal, nor like that of your imaginary God. It is set within a limited structure. With the improvement in the environment, it shows a little development, with its deterioration, a slight retrogression. Do not worry about it. If violence is necessary for the reformation of society, do not scream out with alarm. 'Alas, goodness is dead!' Take it easy, since it puts an end to a bad state of society. The violence employed in order to gain that end cannot be classed on a par with ordinary violence. It is violence

on a high level. Nay, it is really a virtue. If you can understand this, the proper development of character, which you worry about, will also follow.

So, these are the two extreme doctrines. The rest have to take their places between these two, according to their respective capacities. Some say: "The importance of changing the social structure, is not denied. But it should be brought about only through the development of particular moral attributes. There are certain abiding moral values and standards. If in a hurry to set up somehow a particular type of social structure, these values and standards are lost, it will be tantamount to losing the capital in an avaricious bid for interest. There is no social structure, which can be permanent, universal, and capable of freeing man from worry for all time to come. It will and must change according to the particular conditions of time, place and other factors. It is no good making a fetish of social reconstruction. After all, it is the people, who construct a society. Hence, a society will be as the individuals make it. Hence, any scheme of changing the society must be not only subject to the preservation—indeed, enhancement—of standards of character and moral values. We must not worry if it takes place gradually and at a seemingly lower pace. The food which is well masticated is also well digested. And the slow pace will in the end prove itself to have been the speediest.

Please do not suppose that when we talk of character and moral standards we are out to transform man into an angel. We have no need for that conceit. Human beings that we are, there is no fear of our turning into angels, no matter how good we become. Therefore let us achieve, without any fear of risk, as much moral development as we possibly can. That a proper social structure considerably assists moral development is true. But it is truer still to say that a good social structure

can be achieved only when there is adequate moral development. Steadfast faith in moral values is the foundation on which the social structure is built. How can you hope to strengthen an edifice after tearing out the very foundation?

On being told that Gandhism differed from Communism only in its strict emphasis on non-violence, I said: "Two persons were so physically alike that one could have well served as the double of the other in a political fraud. But there was a slight difference. One breathed, the other did not. The result was that a dinner was being prepared for the one and a coffin for the other." The likeness between these two ideologies bereft of this trivial (!) difference of *ahimsa* is similar to the above pair of doubles.

Just as the sons of Sagar discovered the source of Ganga, so also these thinkers have traced the whole course of human history. And they have arrived at the conclusion that just an arrow that has been shot will not deflect from its path but must take a definitely determinable course, so also it is with mankind. Its past history has decided once for all its future course. There is no longer any freedom of action left us. Everything is determined. There will be first rivers of blood, then rivers of milk and honey, and then will follow those of fresh and cool water flowing by each happy home assuaging the thirst of all mankind. Their study and research of history has provided them with a well-knit science of revolution as exact as Euclidian Geometry. Marx foretold even the order and sequence in which revolutions will take place in the different parts of the world. Although this prophecy has not exactly come true, the discrepancy should be regarded just a slip in calculation,—like slips in astrology, which are not regarded as sufficient to warrant a conclusion that the science of astrology itself is wrong. Just as the warrant of Death cannot altogether be avoided, so, too

the destined course of revolution. Hence, all that a man may do is, under the circumstances, to co-operate with it, and help it on as much as possible.

They say that Valmiki wrote the Ramayana long before the birth of Rama, and Rama conformed to every word of it during his earthly career and, so, had also no occasion to worry himself about using his own judgment in order to take a decision. He had just to consult the book and act accordingly. Since the consequences had also been predicted, he was not worried about the results also. So, too, is the case with the Communists. Lenin acted as Marx had prescribed; we, too (according to them) have merely to follow him and straightway reach our goal. If at times there appears a discrepancy between the words of Marx and the actions of Lenin, the pandits of Communism have of course to labour a little to prove that there is no real discrepancy. This is not very difficult. For, it is a well-known maxim of interpretation that a *smṛiti*-text (rule) must conform to a *śruti*-text (law). And, hence, if a rule is clear, then one need only so interpret the law that the former is justified! Do that and you get the 'line clear'.

It is quite otherwise with the Gandhian ideology. If Communism is a solid and imposing structure of granite, Gandhism is an ever-changing amoeba. If we examine Gandhiji's ideas we will find them always growing. If his later pronouncements contradict his earlier ones, he would ask us not to worry about reconciling the two, but to accept the latter and reject the earlier and proceed further. Even in his major fights, he had no premeditated plans, no technique, no ordered arrangement, etc. Since he used to say, "One step is enough for me." Why should the Lord show him two? And, what was the amount of authority to be attached even to his latest utterances? His answer was, "Do not be authority-bound. Use your own talent. You might ask me while I am available.

Thereafter everyone is free to think and decide for himself."

Gandhi And Marx

3. COMMUNISM IN INDIA

What after all are the Communists of India? We do not see any achievements of Communism in India. Whatever little has been done by the Indian Communists was done in Telangana, and there continuously for two or three years murders, anarchy and dacoities were the order of the day. And the net result was that the peasants did not get anything at all. That is why I hold that the Communists do no constructive work, they are mere propagandists. They are no doubt very enthusiastic in their propaganda. The Communists in India are not merely dogmatic, even their minds are closed. Dogmatism is after all also an *ism*. They actually act in accordance with what goes on in Russia. If the line changes in Russia, their line also undergoes a change. They have no independent wisdom of their own. And since they have no independent wisdom of their own, and since they have no independent mind, we can't call them either good or bad. We can offer any opinion only about those who have any opinion of their own.

There is a book on Communism, and the Communists take that as the last word, and bid goodbye to the existing conditions and to commonsense. Actually there should be a proper synthesis between the book, the conditions and commonsense. But they regard the book as their *Veda*. If Marx had existed today in Indian conditions, he must have changed his ideas. I tell the Communists that you may be Marxists but Marx was not a Marxist; he was simply Marx. That is why he could

change. The Communists have no knowledge about the ten thousand years of Indian history and thought. Even if this ancient Indian thought is wrong, then too a knowledge of the same is essential in order to know that wrong. I, therefore, see two chief defects among the Communists — one, they are book worshippers, and two, they do not know the thought-current of the land.

AICC Economic Review, 15-7-53

4. SARVODAYA—A REVOLUTIONARY IDEA

Sarvodaya is not just an organization. It is a mighty word expressive of a revolutionary idea. A powerful word is mightier than institutions. Organizations do not possess the power that great words have. Words have the power to make as well as to unmake. Words elevate, they also degrade, men and nations. We have adopted one of these great words of tremendous power. What does it signify? We do not want the rise of the few; not even of the many, or for that matter the rise of the greatest number. We are not satisfied with the greatest good of the greatest number. We can be satisfied only with the good of one and all, of the high and the low, of the strong and the weak, the intelligent as well as the dull. Only then will we be satisfied. This word *Sarvodaya* expresses this lofty and all-embracing sentiment.

Some people remark that this is an age of large-scale production. What use can it have for our small toy-like instruments? I tell them, I am not satisfied with production only on a large scale, or even with production on a larger scale, but only with production on the largest scale. Let us, however, be clear as to what we mean by this production on the largest scale. In my judgment, it is only these small instruments which

are capable of production on the largest scale because they need millions of people to use them. In your large-scale industries you can employ only a million or two million hands. You can feed at the most a million or two million mouths. But these small instruments require hundreds of millions to handle them. They feed countless millions. Will you call this small-scale production? Tukaram, the great saint of Maharashtra, said: "My wealth and my store of food are not so limited as could be contained in a safe or a granary. My property and wealth have been stored in every house. So vast is my wealth." The man who is proud of the pile that he keeps locked up in a steel-box or deposited in a bank has a small mind and a cramped soul. He whose wealth is spread out in every house is rich both in wealth and soul. The man who compares a drop of rain with water stored in a cistern and belittles the value of the tiny drops of rain betrays poor understanding. The drop of rain irrigates the entire earth giving fresh life to every blade of corn that grows. Therefore, it is mighty in spite of its littleness. The economy of village industries is the plan of universal production on the largest scale in its true sense.

The meaning and implications of the word *Sarvodaya* might expand in course of time, but one of its meanings is quite clear. Human society could not have been created for conflict between man and man or clash of the interests of one with those of another. There might be differences of opinion among men because an individual person's experience and vision are partial and limited and therefore his thinking will be imperfect. Their aggregate thinking should lead to perfect thought but not to difference of interests among them. But we have made life so ill-adjusted that there is also conflict of interests between man and man. We attach so much value to wealth and other articles that we want to possess

them regardless of the needs of others, nay, even by snatching them from others. We attach more value to gold than to love. Owing to the importance attached to wealth, concord among mankind, instead of becoming natural and easy, has become extremely difficult; and various social sciences have arisen out of the search for this concord. But we are still nowhere near discovering a method which will resolve all conflicting interests.

But there is one simple maxim which every one can understand and practice. It is this: Have concern for other's needs and do not mind your own needs in a manner as would cause hardship to others. This is the rule on which happy families are reared and it should not be difficult to extend it to the whole society. Rather it should be felt normally easy and natural. The observance of this rule would contribute to *Sarvodaya*, and will lead to the discovery of more rules. For instance, it naturally suggests also the rule that one must earn one's bread by one's own labour and not be a burden upon others. Earning by one's own labour does not mean earning anyhow; for instance, by somehow obtaining a right over wealth produced by others. But it means by producing more wealth.

Harijan, 26-12-48, 17-4-49

5. SAMYA-YOGA

Capitalism advocates efficiency. It says that some are less efficient than others, they should therefore get less; while some are more efficient and should therefore get more. It seeks to promote efficiency in society by remunerating each for his labour according to his work and capacity. It has raised the standard of life of a tiny minority to a very high level. But at the same time it has also pulled down that of a vast majority into

abysmal poverty. Capitalism has no remedy for this evil. Indeed it declares quite frankly that for those who are unfit there is no alternative except that they remain so. It is inevitable, it adds, that those who are able should take precedence over others in enjoying all the amenities of life in this world.

This is the root cause behind much of the misery of the present-day world and that is why Capitalism has very few supporters today. And though it still goes on in varying forms, it is doomed to die sooner or later.

Democracy functions through the people exercising their right to vote. This results in the rule of the majority which helps and protects the majority but not the minority. Democratic Socialism makes the claim that it safeguards the interests not only of the majority but of all. But experience shows that it has no remedy for many of the ills which democracy leads to. So long as the interests of the minority are sought to be protected through the will of the majority, it is not possible to achieve full Socialism.

Communism declares that equality can never be achieved unless the present upper class is totally abolished. Class war and the extermination of those who hold power offer the only way to this cherished goal. This much violence is inevitable and even obligatory for us.

It is obvious that such an outlook can never make for peace, because violence does produce counter-violence. Not only that, it also results in the depreciation of human virtues which are ultimately the only real foundation for any progress worth the name.

Samya-Yoga, on the other hand, holds that therein dwells in every man the same spirit. It therefore makes no distinction between man and man. It even goes further and recognizes no ultimate difference in the spirit of man and other animals.

This is the difference between Communism and

Samya-Yoga. Communism does not accept the oneness of the Spirit in all beings: Samya-Yoga does and seeks to reform and rebuild the entire life of society on its foundation, with revolutionary results in every field, ethical, social, economic and political.

People have, up to the present, regarded themselves as owners of the wealth they might have. This has produced clash of interests between different groups. We want to replace this idea of the private ownership of wealth by that of the trusteeship of wealth in the interest of the society. Acceptance of the trusteeship ideal will transform our entire thinking in regard to wealth and the relationship between the individual and the society. All that we have is for the service of the society, and not for serving our narrow selfish ends. Indeed, if we would but think of it a little deeply, real self-interest lies in sacrificing it at the feet of the society. This moral upliftment of the people which Samya-Yoga brings about, is its distinctive feature.

Harijan, 7-11-53

6. BHOODAN YAJNA

I was touring Telangana during the summer of 1951. All the while I was thinking of the grave problem confronting the people there. At one place at the request of local Harijans to get some land for them, I asked the village people to donate sufficient land for them. The people acceded to my request and I received the first Bhoomidan that day. This was on 18th April, 1951. This is how the idea of Bhoomidan Yajna came to me, and I tried it during my Telangana tour. It gave encouraging results. Within a period of two months I received about twelve thousand acres of land. I believe that it was very helpful for easing the situation there.

It had its effect on the whole of India and we find that Telangana is much quieter today.

There was a background for the Bhoomidan I received in Telangana. It was doubted whether the same experiment could be carried on in other parts of India, in the absence of that background. It was necessary to test it in other parts in order to clear that doubt. In the meanwhile I received an invitation from Pandit Nehru to place my views before the Planning Commission. It provided me with a reason for starting on this walking tour. In the course of two months which I took to reach Delhi, I received some eighteen thousand acres of land. I then realized that the masses were eager to welcome non-violence.

At the request of friends of Sarvodaya in U.P. I ventured on this experiment of Bhoomidan Yajna in the larger field of U.P. There are more than one lakh villages in U.P. In order to settle at least one Sarvodaya family in each village, we decided to collect at the rate of five acres for a family, five lakh acres of land. Notwithstanding that many of the workers were busy in the elections for about three months, the people gave good response.

I have not only asked for land from big landholders but have also requested small landholders to contribute their quota to this *yajna* and I am very happy to say that these poor people of magnanimous hearts have responded to my prayers with great affection. The offerings of the poor people in the *yajna* remind me of the offering berries by Shabari to Rama and of parched rice by Sudama to Krishna. I will ever remember the gifts of these devotees of God. This *yajna* inspired the poor to work for their salvation and the rich for self-purification and relinquishment of ownership.

I have received land-gifts from people of all classes and denominations, Hindus, Muslims and others. Even those

who hardly have anything left with them as Harijans, and women, who do not have much right on immovable property, have given me land-gifts. The donors came from all political parties and all stages of life. I have asked all to regard *Daridranarayana* as a member of their families, and give him his share as a right, and not as a piece of charity, and people have given me with the same feelings.

We should not feel ill at ease with the word *dan* (gift) in the term Bhoomidan Yajna. Shakaracharya has explained the word *dan* as equitable division. I use the word with that connotation. The receiver of the land will not get his bread for nothing. He will have to work upon the land, improve it, and wet it with his own sweat before he can get his bread from it. He has no reason to feel humiliated. So we are giving him his own share and not bestowing charity on him.

We approach people for land-gifts with love and humility and reasoning. We have set before us three principles :—

1. We do not mind it if one does not give land even after understanding. Because we believe that one who does not give today, will give tomorrow. The seed of thought sown in his heart is bound to bear fruit some day.
2. If one gives with understanding, we feel happy, because it creates deep and far-reaching good will.
3. If someone gives without grasping the idea behind it and under pressure, we do not feel happy because we do not want to grab land anyhow but to create the sentiment of Sarvodaya and *Samya-Yoga* in the world.

I believe that in Bhoomidan Yajna we have found a programme wherein all parties can cooperate. They say that the Congress needs purification. As a matter

of fact all parties need purification but the Congress is mentioned because it is the biggest organisation. I believe that if the Congress and other parties accept this programme and work it in the spirit of truth and non-violence, there will be a general purification of all. It will increase the strength of all and bring about unity.

Fellow countrymen, I appeal to you all to contribute your share in the *Prajasooya Yajna* and by making this mission successful, establish non-violence as the rule of society in the economic sphere. I make a claim of the correctness of this work for three reasons. It is in tune with the cultural traditions of India. It contains in it the seed of economic and social revolution. And, lastly, it can help in the establishment of peace in the world.

I refuse to agree that my attempt to make landed people give away their land voluntarily to the landless is contrary to the trends of history. New things can happen. Nothing like the Russian Revolution had happened before, but it happened. So also this could happen. However, I believe what I am doing is not against the trends of history. It is a historical necessity.

My mission is not to stave off a revolution. I want to prevent a violent revolution and create a non-violent revolution. The future peace and prosperity of the country depend upon the peaceful solution of the land-problem.

My mission, however, is not confined to collecting land-gifts. I am trying to convince landowners that they should part with some of their land. If they are convinced of the right of the landless to some land, the proper atmosphere for suitable legislation will have been created. Once the atmosphere was created, any legislation on the subject could be expected to be effective, since it would have the approval of the people even if land-gifts did not total one-twentieth of the target of 50 million acres.

My mission is to create a proper atmosphere for economic reforms. I have formed no organisation to propagate my views. People who accept my ideas themselves become its preachers. Those who give land provide an example to others. The main thing is that one should do one's own duty. Fire merely burns; it does not worry whether anyone puts a pot on it, fills it with water and puts rice into it to make a meal. It burns and that is the limit of its duty. It is for others to do theirs.

Bhoodan Yajna

The programme I have been putting before the people is based on certain fundamental ideas. Such ideas are like the seed which surely grows. It may take time, but it cannot die. I therefore preach these ideas in the sure faith that they will propagate themselves and ultimately triumph against all odds, because they have behind them the force of truth.

It is no small thing that in the brief space of less than three years, we have secured twenty-five lakh acres of land. No pressure whatever was used in this task. In other countries the same has been achieved either through bloodshed or at best through coercion of law. In our case it has been secured entirely through love. We explained to the people the need for it and they have spontaneously responded to our appeal out of an awakened sense of duty. What did we say to them? Simply this, that land like air, water and sun was not an object of individual possession. It was a free gift of God. How could men own it? It should therefore be equally shared. The landless among you have also a right to it. This is what we said and the people accepted it because there was behind it the force of truth.

Harijan, 27-2-54

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS PUBLICATIONS

get to back cc

AICC ECONOMIC REVIEW ..	(published on the 1st & 15th of every month —as. 3½ per copy ; Rs. 5/- per annum).
ARTHIK SAMEEKSHA ..	(published on the 7th & 22nd of every month—as. 3½ per copy ; Rs. 5/- per annum).
CONGRESS BULLETIN ..	(published monthly and sometimes once in two months—as. 8 per copy ; Rs. 4 per annum).

	Rs. As.
REPORT OF THE CONGRESS AGRARIAN REFORMS COMMITTEE	5 0
A NOTE ON BALANCED CULTIVATION	1 0
THIRD YEAR OF FREEDOM (Aug. 1949—Aug. 1950)	1 8
FOURTH YEAR OF FREEDOM (Aug. 1950—Aug. 1951)	2 0
INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA	0 14
THE PROBLEM OF FRENCH INDIA ..	1 4
THE BACKGROUND OF INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY	1 0
A HANDBOOK FOR CONGRESSMEN (Hindi or English)	1 0
THE PILGRIMAGE AND AFTER ..	2 8
FIFTH YEAR OF FREEDOM (Aug. 1951—Aug. 1952)	3 0
CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME FOR CONGRESSMEN (English) ..	0 8
CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME FOR CONGRESSMEN (Hindi) ..	0 6
CONGRESS SEVA DAL MANUALS Nos. 1, 2, 4 and 6 (English) ..	0 6 each
CONGRESS SEVA DAL MANUALS Nos. 1, 3 and 4 (Hindi) ..	0 6 each
VOLUNTEER ORGANIZATION ..	0 8
AN ORGANISATION AND ITS ESSENTIAL FACTORS	0 4
HAMARA SEVA DAL	0 4
CONGRESS SEVA DAL REPORT 1950-52 (Hindi)	0 4
LAND REFORMS IN INDIA ..	3 0

All prices are exclusive of postage and packing charges

Address your orders and all enquiries to

THE PUBLICATIONS DEPARTMENT

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

7, JANTAR MANTAR ROAD, NEW DELHI